Toward an Analytical Framework for Assessing Power Dynamics in University-Community Partnerships

by

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ABSTRACT

In a contemporary socioeconomic context that pushes universities toward a more neoliberal agenda, some are answering a call to reinvest in the public purpose of higher education. Their strategies increasingly integrate teaching, research, and service through university-community partnerships. Within this movement, several initiatives aim to support a qualitative transformational shift toward a more egalitarian paradigm of collaboration. However, the literature and knowledge-building around these aims is largely insular to higher education and may be insufficient for the task. Thus, this study situates these aspirations in the community development literature and theories of power to better conceptualize and operationalize what is meant by reciprocal, mutually-beneficial approaches to university-community partnerships.

First, a theoretically grounded analytical framework was developed using both higher education and community development literatures to build two ideal-typical approaches to community practice characterized by power-over versus power-with. Within power-over, the institution exclusively holds authority, control, and legitimacy. Power-with is built through partnerships that share these elements with communities. Second, the resulting theoretical framework was developed further through a multi-stage deductive-inductive content analysis of written data readily available from university websites about their community partnerships. This process operationalized the framework by identifying and clarifying specific indicators within the power-over and power-with ideal-types.

The analytical framework was then compared to the aspirational community empowerment goals found in materials about the Carnegie elective classification for Community Engagement and materials from both the Anchor Initiatives Task Force and Anchor Initiatives Dashboard Learning Cohort. This comparative analysis found that while these initiatives aspire to transform power dynamics between universities and communities, they are vague on the meaning of these practices and their antitheses. This gap in clarity hinders these initiatives from distinguishing transformative work from the status quo, potentially inadvertently allowing the perpetuation of power-over dynamics in university-community partnerships.

The more robust analytical framework developed herein will enable these initiatives to better assess the quality of university-community partnerships against the aspirations of equity, social justice, democratic practice, mutual respect, shared authority, and co-creation. Such assessment will enable more effective knowledge-building toward transformational practice.

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1 INTRODUCING UNIVERSITY-COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

This study is the first component of a larger personal research agenda to explore power dynamics in university-community partnerships, particularly within public universities that are classified both as Highest Research Activity and Community Engagement institutions by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT). The primary purpose of this study is to explore whether the community development literature and its treatment of power can inform a more robust analytical framework to assess university-community partnerships than what the higher education literature offers. The study has three major phases: (1) development of a theoretical framework using community development literature on power dynamics, integrated with higher education literature to construct two ideal-type approaches to community partnerships; (2) completion of an interpretive, qualitative content analysis of university rhetoric about community engagements to further operationalize the framework, and (3) assessment of the potential relevance and usefulness of the analytical framework in assessing common aspirational goals of university-community engagement through comparative analyses between the analytical framework and (a) the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification 2020 application framework and (b) the Anchor Institutions Task Force and Dashboard Learning Cohort metrics.

The author's previous research focused on power dynamics in community engagement both at the municipal level (Riffle and Tchida 2013) as well as from the vantage of nonprofit community development initiatives (Tchida 2018). As a research assistant for a self-described public-facing, community engaged university initiative at

Arizona State University (ASU), this research focus pivoted in response to a meeting with a potential community partner, who said he might be interested in thought partnership but was not interested in having more institutional gaze on his communities until ASU is willing to turn the evaluative gaze on itself.

From this anecdotal evidence, research questions abound, such as: Is this experience particular to ASU or common within similar institutions that are oriented toward both the highest levels of research and community engagement? What theoretical lens seems to guide these efforts and which ones might foster improvement? How can universities get better at this potentially valuable work? While such a research agenda will ultimately require primary data collection and analysis from both sides of university-community partnerships, to answer these and related questions, the problem must be situated in the literature and analytical frameworks are needed to guide research; these steps are the purpose of this study. Toward that end, this chapter clarifies and defines the problem, considering the purposes and potential contributions of higher education to society generally and to community partnerships in particular.

The Purposes and Contributions of Higher Education

The primary purposes of universities are to produce knowledge through research and disseminate knowledge through teaching and service (Rhodes 2001). In so doing, higher education contributes to society both socially and economically. Until the end of the nineteenth century, universities in the United States focused primarily on undergraduate education "in preparation for professional life or direct entry into the workforce" (Crow and Dabars 2015, 86). In fact, many who desired graduate education

and research opportunities were drawn to German institutions such as the University of Berlin (Diehl 1978, Geitz, Heideking, and Herbst 1995). In 1876, however, Johns Hopkins University was established and invested in research and graduate programs, which some argue established the prototype for the American research university (Cole 2009, Crow and Dabars 2015, Rhodes 2001). This trend was broad-based going into the twentieth century, as both public and private American universities integrated a research focus into their missions (Crow and Dabars 2015). Increased federal funding to universities following World War II enabled "research which would lead to 'new products, medicines, or weapons'" (93).

The purposes of teaching and service expanded dramatically with the Morrill Act of 1862, which led to publicly funded "land-grant colleges and universities" (Rhodes 2001, 5). As an exemplar of public universities, the primary focus of the Land Grant institution was "to provide instruction in agriculture and the 'mechanical arts' to the children of the working and middle classes" (Crow and Dabars 2015, 84). These colleges and universities were also charged with outreach missions to disseminate this knowledge to community members as well (Brown, Pendleton-Jullian, and Adler 2010). Land Grant institutions also played "an important role in the ascendancy of the scientific disciplines and fields of engineering in American research universities" (Crow and Dabars 2015, 85).

Thus, public funding shaped the American university model by increasing research and contribution to industry, access to the university for educational purposes, and civic education and social mobility. Crow and Dabars (2015) assert that the combined mission of knowledge production and dissemination is a unique contribution of

the United States to the developmental path of higher education. Regardless of whether they are public or private, American universities are now multifaceted institutions that use research, teaching, and service to "serve the needs of American society" (Cole 2009, 30).

Higher Education Out of Balance

Some argue that nowhere is the link between higher education and economic development stronger than in the United States (Hodges and Dubb 2012). From this perspective, American values of self-determination, competition, and pluralism strengthen the "entrepreneurial dimension" of higher education, increasing the capacity for teaching and research to make significant "contributions to economic development" (Crow and Dabars 2015, 85). In recent decades, however, some in higher education believe the balance between the social and economic purposes of teaching, research, and service has gone too far in the direction of fulfilling an economic purpose, abandoning its broader purpose of developing strong democratic citizens and communities (Giroux 2002, 2014). Specifically, research increasingly serves the interests of industry, while teaching increasingly serves workforce preparation alone, as opposed to the development of well-rounded citizens (Boyt 2015a, Eatman 2016). Similarly, service often takes the form of charitable volunteerism that is not necessarily empowering of communities. This form of service "neglects root causes and cultural dynamics at work in the formation of values" (Boyt 2015b, 7) as well as the democratic ideal of participation. Instead, it focuses on enforcing dominant values to meet economic and material needs.

This overarching trend is generally described as "the neoliberal university" and "academic capitalism" (Orphan and O'Meara 2016). Neoliberalism is an "ideology and policy model that emphasizes the value of free market competition" and a "belief in sustained economic growth as the means to achieve human progress" (Smith 2018). In sum, neoliberalism has shaped not only the political economy of society writ large, but also that of colleges and universities (Saltmarsh and Hartley 2016). While this has been the general progression within the economic contributions of higher education, for those who promote its social and democratic contributions, the commodification of higher education poses a dangerous threat to "knowledge production, the knowledge itself, and the identities of those who produce that knowledge" (Shumar 2008, 67). Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) argue that overall this "academic capitalism regime" of higher education is fundamentally at odds with the "public good regime" (28-29).

While workforce preparation and economic development contributions are indeed of value to society, they do not fulfill the *entire* purpose of higher education as originally conceived in the United States, particularly in publicly-funded universities. From this perspective, neoliberalism pulls universities from their social mission and treats them solely as "profit-making" entities (Canaan and Shumar 2008, 27). Instead, higher education should refocus attention to its "public" purpose, generally meaning its democratic and social purposes (see for example, Boyt 2015a). Boyt (2015b) argues that *all* societal domains—community, government, and market—should be sites of public work: "work *by* publics, *for* public purposes, *in* public" (4). It is from this perspective that many call to "reaffirm" this social purpose and "become a more vigorous partner in the

search for answers to our most pressing social, civic, economic and moral problems (Boyer 1996, 15). Some suggest this means re-politicizing research, teaching, and service (Saltmarsh and Hartley 2016), a call that demands attention to power dynamics.

Integrating Complex Purposes

To determine where a given institution is positioned on the spectrum of research, teaching, and service purposes, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education created a classification system in 1970 to assess the balance between knowledge production (research) and knowledge dissemination (teaching). This was first published in 1973 by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT) (Center for Postsecondary Research n.d.). While the classifications have been amended over time, there are six basic categories: Doctoral Universities, Masters Colleges and Universities, Baccalaureate Colleges, Baccalaureate/ Associate's Colleges, Associate's Colleges, Special Focus Institutions, and Tribal Colleges. Doctoral Universities are broken down into categories reflecting the level of knowledge production: R1 is Highest Research Activity, R2 is Higher Research Activity, and R3 is Moderate Research Activity. R1 universities are distinguished by "having a substantial number of doctoral students and a significant commitment to organized research" (Rhodes 2001, 18-19). A university does not have to achieve these research classifications to engage in discovery and knowledge production. Yet, it is clear that all American universities make decisions about how to prioritize research and teaching within their institutional mission. The university that inspired this study, ASU, is classified as an R1 institution.

While this classification is very useful for assessing institutional priorities in terms of research and teaching, it is silent on the higher education purpose of *service* to communities beyond research and teaching. Toward this end, in 2005 CFAT introduced an elective classification for institutions committed to "Community Engagement" (Driscoll 2009). Again, the university that inspired this study, ASU, received this classification in 2006 and was reclassified in 2015. In 2008, CFAT described community engagement as "the collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity" (as quoted in Driscoll 2009, 1), thus often blending service learning and community-based research in community and economic development projects. Such projects may include university staff, faculty, and students at any level of study (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2018b). Thus, particularly universities which aspire to excellence all three purposes of higher education have an opportunity to bring these activities together in the context of university-community partnerships.

University-Community Partnerships

Community outreach for various purposes has long been a strategy in higher education, particularly through Extension units in Land Grant institutions. Traditional outreach approaches place the university in a directive, therapeutic role—experts respond to community problems in a top-down, one-way fashion (Kellogg 1999b). In the worst-case scenario, experts identify "target populations" who may not even want intervention.

More recently, however, approaches to community service have been adapted and adopted by both public and private institutions of higher education that "embrace new forms of learning and interdisciplinary inquiry that respond to the needs of the 21st century" (Brown, Pendleton-Jullian, and Adler 2010, 10). Rather than relying on traditional outreach programs, service learning, applied research, and community-based research have become platforms for service meant to have environmental, community, or organizational impact. One leading strategy is to build partnerships among academic programs, commercial enterprises, government agencies, and nonprofit organizations in collaborative learning, planning, and project implementation.

Hartley and Saltmarsh (2016) provide a comprehensive history of the community service, service-learning, and civic engagement movements in higher education, noting that since the 1990s, higher education is integrating teaching, research, and service purposes through these efforts. In terms of teaching, the emerging approach is to integrate service into course curriculum, moving the classroom into the community (Kellogg 1999b). For example, service learning integrates civic engagement with curricular activities and community-based research that serve both social and economic purposes (Dolgon, Mitchell, and Eatman 2017). In terms of research, applied and participatory action research are becoming more widely accepted forms of scholarship, and they are increasingly integrated into both service learning and more traditional outreach efforts (Spainer 1999). Such holistic approaches "strengthen the link between discovery and learning" (Kellogg 1997, ix). While service often takes the form of charitable volunteerism, the National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic

Engagement (2012) urges institutions of higher education to deepen civic engagement into "the multifaceted dimensions of civic learning and democratic engagement" (10). More specifically, Saltmarsh and Hartley (2016) call for the promotion of deeper civic and political agency, as well as participatory democracy in community engagement.

Taken together, the contemporary understanding of community engagement is an "approach that integrates community service with academic study to enrich learning, teach civic responsibility, and strengthen communities" (Service-Learning 2002, 15). Activities are designed to simultaneously produce value for faculty, students, and community members. Community engagement must not only serve students and scholars, but the communities that increasingly function as living learning labs and the residents that support those teaching and research activities.

Thus, a movement is afoot in higher education toward "building a public culture of democracy" (Hartley and Saltmarsh 2016, loc. 937), one that is more participatory and empowering. When adequately influenced by community members, community engagement is about making a difference "in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and nonpolitical processes" (Ehrlich 2000, vi). This new approach to integrated research, teaching, and service is a growing trend in higher education, and the university is now recognized as a key player in community engagement (D'Agostino 2008) and place-based community development (Sladek 2017). For example, many campuses have a community engagement office and/or Campus Compact office, which is a national coalition of more

than 1,100 college and university presidents who are committed to fulfilling the civic purposes of higher education (Campus Compact 2011). Founded in 1985, Campus Compact has offices in 35 states with staff who promote public and community service that develops students' citizenship skills, helps campuses forge effective community partnerships, and provides resources and training for faculty seeking to integrate community-based learning and inquiry into their activities.

Leaders in this movement believe that service learning stands to reclaim the public purpose of higher education—to develop citizens, not just workers (Service-Learning 2002). However, community engagement also holds promise for doing the same for community members. Programs like Campus Compact recognize that successful service learning requires meaningful collaboration between the university and the communities it serves.

To transform the status quo, the contemporary approach to community engagement is to employ facilitative leadership styles in which experts are on tap, not on top in the pursuit of community and cultural change (Stephenson 2011). Activities should be in response to what the community understands as its needs (Service-Learning 2002), particularly those who are seen by the university as the ones in need. The engagement process must be reciprocal: "two-way streets designed by mutual respect among partners for what each brings to the table" (Kellogg 1999b, 9). This collaborative philosophy is congruent with the community engagement purpose of creating a "learning society" (Kellogg 1999a). This learning orientation helps everyone involved generate contexts that enable faculty, students, and community members to learn in a mutual, shared manner.

Many community engaged institutions refer to their role as anchor institutions as an animating rationale. While the Carnegie elective classification considers community engagement at any scale, the notion of anchor institutions narrows the focus to the local community. A concept popularized by Harvard professor Michael Porter in 2002, anchor institutions are large, stable organizations that are highly unlikely to move or shut down operations (Hodges and Dubb 2012). Anchor institutions include colleges, universities, hospitals, community foundations, libraries, arts institutions, and other public service-oriented organizations that can meaningfully contribute to community and economic development. These institutions increasingly adopt place-based missions to address historic inequalities in their communities by leveraging their economic strength and human capital (Sladek 2017). In so doing, "partnerships should be democratic in purpose, process and impact" (Penn Institute for Urban Research 2009, 151) in order to contribute to "a more democratic, humane, and just society (150) and "increase their contribution to the public good" (168).

Two initiatives are leading this movement. The Anchor Institutions Task Force is an organization with over 700 members in pursuit of the anchor mission (Marga n.d.). With support from the Democracy Collaborative at the University of Maryland, the Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort is a group of peers investigating and evaluating their anchor missions together in order to advance practice (Dubb, McKinley, and Howard 2013a, b, Sladek 2017). In the case of universities, the anchor institution mission can be pursued through service, teaching, and research strategies (Sladek 2017).

These reaffirmations of the public purpose of higher education are reflected in how university-community partnerships are currently being evaluated. Today, CFAT has classified over 350 colleges and universities as Community Engagement institutions. As specifically noted on their website, "the classification is not an award" but rather "an evidence-based documentation of institutional practice to be used in a process of self-assessment and quality improvement" similar to that used in accreditation (Swearer Center for Public Service n.d.). In fact, the most recent guidelines encourage applicants to reflect on their own deficiencies and plans for addressing them for continuous improvement. For example, the instructions note "there is potential for both expected outcomes and impacts and unintended consequences, as well as positive and negative impacts" (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2018b, 7).

From the perspectives of both the Carnegie Community Engagement classification application and Anchor Institutions Dashboard Learning Cohort metrics, university-community partnerships should be mutually beneficial and egalitarian in character, sometimes referring to them as *community-university partnerships* to emphasize community empowerment (Beere 2009). There is a distinction between outreach methods "focused on the application and provision of institutional resources for community use" and collaborative university-community partnerships which are "grounded in the concepts of reciprocity and mutual benefit, which are explicitly explored and addressed in partnership activities" (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2018b, 19). This type of reciprocity requires going beyond

"outreach" and "service, with its overtones of noblesse oblige. What it emphasizes is genuine *collaboration*: that the learning and teaching be multidirectional and the expertise shared" (O'Meara and Rice 2005, 28).

More specifically, CFAT and AITF respectively call for mutual respect, shared authority, co-creation (Swearer Center for Public Service 2018, 10), equity, social justice, and democratic practice (Marga n.d.). Each of these concepts indicate an awareness of power dynamics inherent in institutional partnerships with communities and infer a commitment to turning the evaluative gaze on universities as good partners. However, making broad aspirational statements about desirable characteristics is not enough to generate evaluative frameworks capable of assessing practice.

Much of the literature around university-community engagement and partnerships is insular to higher education (see for example, Boyer 1996, Dolgon, Mitchell, and Eatman 2017, Dostilio 2017, Driscoll 2009, Hodges and Dubb 2012, Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Universities 1999, Maurrasse 2001, McReynolds and Shields 2015, National Task Force on Civic Learning and Democratic Engagement 2012, Post et al. 2016a, Sandmann, Thornton, and Jaeger 2009, Sladek 2017). This is not to say that this literature is deficient, but rather that it is *insufficient* for evaluating the quality of university-community partnerships in terms of power dynamics. As one higher education scholar notes, "service-learning, community-based participatory research, and campus-community partnerships have outrun our theories. Put more forcefully, we will be unable to address profound social problems until we strengthen our theoretical understanding" (Levine 2016, loc. 5098).

As an example of these limitations, Beere (2009) claims there were many gaps in assessing the quality of university-community partnerships in early Carnegie Community Engagement classification applications. Assurance of mutuality was often achieved through advisory or governing boards, the accountability of which was not a reporting requirement. Similarly, applicants responded to yes or no questions about the mutuality and reciprocity of partnerships, but these questions were not tied to specific partnerships. Finally, to describe partnerships in the 2006 application, universities were simply asked to provide information regarding partner agencies, number of faculty/students involved, funding, duration, and community/institutional impact. In short, this study of university-community partnerships concluded that "more can still be done to improve understanding of the *quality* of community-campus partnerships" (Beere 2009, 62, emphasis added). Similarly, Alan Delmerico of SUNY Buffalo State and member of the Anchor Institution Learning Cohort explains, "Our committee does not have a standard definition for what a partnership is but rather labels an organization as a partner if we do any service work with them. The quality to which we define a partnership is the bigger issue" (as quoted in Sladek 2017, 20).

More than two dozen assessment tools for measuring community engagement institutionalization have been published (Furco and Miller 2009), including the Carnegie Community Engagement self-assessment framework itself (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2018b). Yet, none go into depth on the characteristics of mutual respect, shared authority, co-creation, equity and social justice, or democratic

practice. The purpose of this study is to develop and operationalize an analytical framework toward this end.

A small group of scholars in higher education are beginning to incorporate slightly more tangible aspirations for the quality of partnerships through what they refer to as Asset-Based Community Engagement (ABCE) (Hamerlinck and Plaut 2014). ABCE includes the orientation of scholars and practitioners toward substantive reflection and humility (Avila 2014), a relinquishing of institutional control over community contribution and change (Snow 2014), a new paradigm of co-learning (Azzahir 2014), and institutional shifts to enable different power dynamics between scholars and communities (White 2014a). In this way, they are beginning the project of specifying how to operationalize the aspirations found in both the 2020 CFAT application and those espoused by the AITF. However, while ABCE certainly aligns with values of equity, social justice, and democratic practice (Marga n.d.), it does not go deeply enough into the analysis of power required to provide a reflective critique of university-campus partnerships that do not meet these tenets, as well as provide a robust rationale for and affirmation of the new paradigm of engagement and its assessment. Toward this end, the community development literature can augment and clarify these principles for the purpose of assessment and evaluation.

Potential Contributions from the Field of Community Development

Community development scholarship has long grappled with questions of how institutions and professionals might most ethically and productively engage communities, particularly marginalized communities which are often targeted in social change efforts.

Some note a paradigmatic shift away from professional experts who either seek to do things *to* and *for* communities, toward those who seek to work *with* community members as equally valued collaborators (Stout 2018). A similar differentiation is made in higher education, as evident in the general shift in university-community engagement from traditional outreach interventions to a more collaborative, reciprocal, and empowering approach. Reciprocity requires activities that are "both in and *with* the community" (Saltmarsh et al. 2009, loc. 891).

Most generally, community development is understood as a practice which pursues "a planned approach to improving the standard of living and well-being of disadvantaged populations" (Johnson-Butterfield and Chisanga 2013). Within this field of study and practice, there are some who pursue this end through changing the conditions that created poverty and disadvantage in the first place (see for example, Bhattacharyya 1995), while others seek to ameliorate these conditions through outside assistance in place-based environmental and economic development (Green and Haines 2008). Yet, there is general agreement that when cultural, human, and social development *precedes* other forms of development, the effects are more profound and long-lasting (Phillips and Pittman 2015). This is in many ways due to the differentiation between expert practices that are empowering in nature, as opposed to dominating.

Thus, to augment emergent scholarship in higher education, community development theory can provide a basis for reflective critique of partnerships that do not meet the aspirational goals of community engaged scholarship, as well as provide a detailed rationale for and affirmation of the new paradigm of engagement. More

specifically, in order to theoretically inform a robust framework for the development and evaluation of exemplary university-community partnerships, it is necessary to delve into literature that examines power dynamics in community partnerships. Toward this end, chapter 2 presents the first major phase of this study: development of a theoretical framework using community development literature on power dynamics, integrated with higher education literature to construct two ideal-type approaches to community partnerships.

2 DEVELOPING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The problem statement in chapter 1 suggests that in order to assess the aspirations of community engagement, higher education scholarship needs a stronger theoretical understanding and must differentiate between dominating and empowering approaches to university-community partnerships. It also suggests that the higher education literature on the topic is quite insular and ultimately insufficient for evaluating the democratic quality of university-community partnerships. Given the fact that community development theory has long grappled with questions of how institutions and professionals might most ethically and productively engage with communities, contributions can be made from this literature to the field of higher education.

This chapter explores relevant community development literature and integrates higher education literature in order to develop a theoretical framework as a foundation for assessing university-community partnerships and integrates it with similar higher education literature. The first section develops and explicates two ideal-type approaches, critiquing the traditional dominating approach to community engagement and affirming a new empowering paradigm. Specifically, this section draws from Mary Parker Follett, John Gaventa, and Jody Kretzmann and John McKnight. Each of these scholars engaged in actual community development practice and studied power dynamics therein, drawing from both their research as well as other social and political theories to advance the field. Thus, they are all appropriate for this study, not only because of their treatment of power in community engagement but because they also link theory with practice, a key element in the practice and "self-assessment" of the Carnegie Community Engagement

classification (Swearer Center for Public Service n.d.). The second section draws from both community development and higher education community engagement literature to explicate the specific manifestations of these two ideal-types. The resulting theoretical framework is presented in the last section.

The Ideal-Type Method

The theoretical portion of this study uses Weber's (1949b) ideal-type method to develop a basic framework for assessing *community practice*, which includes community partnership both in the community development field as well as higher education (Weil, Reisch, and Ohmer 2013). This method is intended to meet theory with empirical observation. Weber (1949b) asserts that objectivity in empirical observation is impossible as it is always filtered by values, and that theory building through ideal-types should be used "not as an end but as a *means*" (92). Once constructed, ideal-types provide strong "conceptual instruments for *comparison* with and the *measurement* of reality" (Weber 1949b, 97).

Stout (2010) recently articulated the advantage of Weber's ideal-type method for theory building and case study research in the related field of public administration. Ideal-types are designed to accentuate the characteristics of a concept in order to focus attention on a specific aspect of the phenomenon in question. In this way conceptual logic can be used to assess empirical evidence to determine what it is most like and what logical implications can be inferred from that similarity.

Following the ideal-type method, first, a specific social phenomenon of interest must be identified. In this case, it is *university-community partnerships*. Second, a

culturally significant organizing characteristic must be chosen and specified as the frame of reference. In this case, it is *power dynamics* between university and community partners. Third, the concepts essential for identifying causal relationships must be identified. In this case, they will be the specific characteristics of either a *dominating* or *empowering* nature within university-community partnerships. Fourth, meanings that are mutually exclusive within a given ideal-type must be identified so that the character of each one is clear, coherent, and representative of empirical evidence. In this case, various manifestations of *dominating* and *empowering* power dynamics in community practice will be identified.

Building the Ideal-Types

The following section introduces each aforementioned community development scholar and outlines their contribution to the task at hand. Tables will be used in each step of the process to show the development of the ideal-type framework.

Mary Parker Follett: *Power-over* versus *Power-with*

Follett was a "highly esteemed Progressive Era public intellectual, scholar of political theory, social worker, and management consultant to both industry and government" (Stout and Love 2015, 1). Across these fields of study and practice, she was curious about "*modes of association of human beings in groups*" (1). Born in Quincy, Massachusetts in 1868, her "relational process ontology" (Stout and Love 2013) and subsequent ideas about governance, politics, business, and social life were revolutionary. Unfortunately, for a number of reasons, much of her theory laid dormant for many decades. However, there has been a resurgence of attention given to her work in the past

thirty to forty years in the fields of "management, business, mediation and conflict resolution, social work, and public administration" (Stout and Love 2015, 2). Follett (1918) is particularly relevant to this study because she centered notions of power, sovereignty, and authority. Indeed, she was the first to use the language of *power-over* versus *power-with* (Follett 1924, 2003), providing clear vernacular for the two approaches identified herein as *dominating* and *empowering*. Thus, Follett contributes framing for and naming of the two ideal-types, as shown in table 1: *power-over* and *power-with*.

Table 1. The Two Ideal-Types

Power-Over	***Power-With***

Follett (1924) used the term "*power-over*" to describe approaches to community change that have hierarchical and disempowering tendencies (189). *Power-over* is a use of power as dominating influence and control. It places professionals hierarchically above the people and places where poverty manifests, reducing community members to problems which must be solved, instead of collaborators with whom to build relationships and learn from.

Power-with, on the other hand, is "a jointly developed power, a co-active, not a coercive power" (Follett 2003, 101). Her fundamental belief in this form of relational power led her to a revolutionary definition of *community* as a *process* (Follett 1919) and a *creative experience* (Follett 1924) of integrating perspectives and harmonizing difference.

This is extremely valuable when seeking to evaluate the process and relational experiences within community partnerships.

John Gaventa: Dimensions of Power

Currently Director of Research at the Institute of Development Studies in partnership with the University of Sussex, John Gaventa has "written and worked extensively on issues of citizenship and citizen engagement, power and participation, governance and accountability, and leadership for social change" (Institute of Development Studies n.d.). Born in Tennessee, he is perhaps most well-known for his work at the Highlander Research and Education Center and his associated first book, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (Gaventa 1982).

Building on the political theories of Dahl (1961), Bachrach and Baratz (1962), and Lukes (2004), Gaventa (1982) solidified a framework for how three dimensions of power function within institution-community relationships. The first and most obvious dimension of power is overt dominance and control over decision-making and action, using influence garnered through resources and connections to other decision-makers. The second dimension of power is latent dominance of the decision-making sphere through influence to the values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional procedures that impact who and what is welcome in the decision-making process. The third and most insidious dimension of power is influence over what is symbolically deemed culturally, socially, and politically legitimate, which in turn shapes cultural responses to long-term power differentials in these domains.

Later in his career, Gaventa (2006) adopted three alternative forms of power common within the community development literature. *Power-with*, or solidarity, "refers to the synergy which can emerge through partnerships and collaboration with others, or through processes of collective action and alliance building" (Gaventa 2006, 24). *Power-to*, or agency, is the community's "capacity to act; to exercise agency" (24). Finally, *power-within*, or self-efficacy is "the sense of self-identity, confidence and awareness that is a precondition for action" (24). While Gaventa does not draw the connection, these three forms of power can be understood as transformations of the three dimensions of power. While *power-over* in the first dimension is overt dominance and control over decision-making, *power-with* is a countervailing force of partnership and collective action. While *power-over* in the second dimension is latent dominance of the decision-making sphere, *power-to* is a countervailing force of agency to define focus and determine action. While *power-over* in the third dimension is cultural dominance of exclusive legitimacy, *power-within* is a countervailing force of confidence and expansion of cultural and symbolic legitimacy. Thus, as shown in table 2, Gaventa's theory of power provides further framing for the ideal-types by (1) identifying the dimensions of power and mechanisms thereof, (2) further explicating the *power-over* approach, and (3) providing parallel characteristics for the alternative approach.

Table 2. The Two Ideal-Types with Dimensions and Mechanisms of Power

Dimensions of Power	**Mechanisms**	***Power-Over* Manifestations**	***Power-With* Manifestations**
1	• Political, financial, and organizational resources • Positionality	*Overt dominance* over decision-making and action	*Power-with* or solidarity

Dimensions of Power	Mechanisms	*Power-Over* Manifestations	*Power-With* Manifestations
2	• Values, beliefs, rituals • Institutional procedures	*Latent dominance* over the decision-making sphere	*Power-to* or agency
3	• Social construction and symbolic meanings • Cultural response to long-term power dynamics	*Hidden dominance* over cultural and symbolic meanings	*Power-within* or self-efficacy

Kretzmann & McKnight: Asset-Based Community Development

Jody Kretzmann and John McKnight are co-founders and co-directors of the Asset-Based Community Development Institute at DePaul University in Chicago, Illinois, previously housed at Northwestern University in adjacent Evanston, Illinois (Baron 2018). In the late 1980s, they identified and named a community-building phenomenon they observed in the work of community organizers in Chicago—Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993).

While it remains a self-published paperback workbook, *Building Communities from the Inside Out* (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993) has become one of the most widely cited sources in the community development canon; for example, over 150,000 copies have been sold (Baron 2018) and it is shown to have been cited 3,542 times on Google Scholar (as of October 2018). Concepts from ABCD have been applied to many fields, including community and youth development (Andresen 2012, Payne 2006), public health (Baker 2014, McGeechan et al. 2016), primary and secondary education (Garoutte and McCarthy-Gilmore 2014, Johnson-Butterfield, Yeneabat, and Moxley 2016),

economic development (Mathie and Cunningham 2003, 2005), public engagement (Chinyowa, Sirayi, and Mokuku 2016), public policy (Hogan et al. 2014), tourism (Wu and Pearce 2014), and natural resource management (De Beer 2012). ABCD has also been adapted and adopted into higher education through asset-based community engagement (ABCE) (Hamerlinck and Plaut 2014). Even the 2020 CFAT application refers to community engagement that is "asset-based" (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2018b, 16).

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) offer critique of professional interventions. Specifically, they argue that community development professionals too often focus on a community's deficiencies and center themselves as saviors, thus diminishing and delegitimizing community contributions. The main contribution of their work, however, are three aspirational principles, which further develop manifestations of the *power-with* ideal-type, as seen in table 3.

While their explication runs contrary to the order of Gaventa's dimensions, the most widely known principle is "asset-based," which begins "with a clear commitment to discovering a community's capacities and assets" (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993, 1). Community assets include individual skills, local associations, financial resources, physical infrastructure, and more (Asset-Based Community Development Institute 2018). Importantly, community assets are viewed not just as available, but "absolutely necessary" (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993, 8) to transform "deficiency-oriented policies and programs" (2). Thus, this principle is most closely aligned with dimension 3, *power-*

within, or the building of self-efficacy among community members as it relates to cultural and symbolic legitimacy.

The second principle is "internally-focused," which unabashedly gives to community members the agency and power of "definition, investment, creativity, hope, and control" (9). This principle focuses more directly on "the agenda building and problem-solving capacities of local residents" (9) as opposed to an "outside-in" approach which "denies the basic community wisdom" and the "community's own problem-solving capacities" (4). This is not to devalue the role of professionals to support this work, but rather to give primary authority to community members. In this way, "internally-focused" is most closely aligned with dimension 2, *power-to*, or the building of agency among community members in the decision-making sphere.

Perhaps the least developed, yet quite important principle of ABCD is "relationship-driven," which focuses on the constant building and rebuilding of "relationships between and among local residents, local associations and local institutions" (9). One result of the needs-based, outside-in approach is that "the most important relationships" become "those that involve the expert, the social worker, the health provider, the funder" (4). This can inherently weaken the ties between community members. Therefore, Kretzmann and McKnight focus on strengthening relationships among community members. This principle is most closely aligned with dimension 1, *power-with*, the building of solidarity through collaborative decision-making and action.

Table 3. The Two Ideal-Types with ABCD Principles

Dimensions of Power	Mechanisms	***Power-Over*** **Manifestations**	***Power-With*** **Manifestations**
1	• Political, financial, and organizational resources • Positionality	*Overt dominance* over decision-making and action • Professional-centered	*Power-with* or solidarity • Relationship-driven
2	• Values, beliefs, rituals • Institutional procedures	*Latent dominance* over the decision-making sphere • Outside-in	*Power-to* or agency • Internally-focused
3	• Social construction and symbolic meanings • Cultural response to long-term power dynamics	*Hidden dominance* over cultural and symbolic meanings • Deficiency-oriented	*Power-within* or self-efficacy • Asset-based

Explicating the Manifestations of Power

With the basic theoretical framework in hand, the following sub-sections draw upon literature both from community development and higher education to explicate the manifestations of the two ideal-types, *power-over* and *power-with* approaches to community practice.

Power-Over Manifestations

This sub-section incorporates contributions from a host of community development scholars to provide a more robust explanation of the *power-over* approach to community practice. It is also informed by higher education scholars and academics who challenge "the culture of expert-driven knowledge production" and "resist the

structures of privilege and inequality that are pervasive in higher education" (Post et al. 2016b, loc. 235).

Dimension 1: Overt dominance over decision-making and action

The first dimension of *power-over* is overt dominance over decision-making and action. Its mechanisms are the extensive political, financial, and organizational resources that enable power-holders to do things *to* or *for* others without their consent. Many practitioners, "confident that their object is for the good of society, are willing to take measures to attain it which are essentially coercive" (Follett 1924, 191).

The history of this approach to community development goes back to the Progressive Era, when women of the charitable movement busied themselves with cleaning up poor neighborhoods (Kusmer 1973). Behind the veil of care and charity is the reality of the enforcement of dominant values—in this case cleanliness and order—an approach that persists today (Boyt 2015b). Whether explicit or implicit, ideal standards for indicators such as rates of employment, home ownership, homelessness, educational attainment, and crime (Phillips 2003, 16) are defined by experts and used to justify top-down approaches to community change.

It should be clear, however, that dimension 1 is not about the planning so much as the actual execution and the enabling factors such as control over revitalization resources and insular relationships to other power-holders. In community development, funders of the field are positioned at the top of the hierarchy, sending directives down through funding opportunities, and demanding accountability back up through evaluation

(Equitable Evaluation Project 2017, Hendricks, Plantz, and Pritchard 2008, Incite! Women of Color Against Violence 2007).

Domination is manifested through the dynamic of resources coming down and accountability going up this hierarchical chain of command, which leads to a centering of the professional. Within this system, "the most important relationships" become "those that involve the expert, the social worker, the health provider, the funder" and not relationships community members and organizational representatives have to one another as neighbors (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993, 4).

As anchor institutions, universities also hold immense power and influence within their community settings. As noted in chapter 1, anchor institutions are large, well-funded, stable organizations (Hodges and Dubb 2012). They can impact local communities with their ability to: target local hiring and procurement practices; build workforce and wealth building capacity of residents; invest in affordable housing programs and development; develop commercial space in mixed use buildings; maintain local financial investment portfolios; invest in various determinants of health and wellbeing; design and build public infrastructure and transportation systems; contribute to environmental sustainability initiatives; invest in arts and cultural development initiatives; support youth development and education programs; and build community leadership through empowered policy advisory boards. This positions universities as influential peers among other institutional actors in the community alongside local power-holders such as municipal and state agencies. In a *power-over* approach to making community change, organizational strategies are solely informed by those in power.

Dimension 2: Latent dominance over the decision-making sphere

The second dimension of *power-over* is the latent dominance over the decision-making sphere. Its mechanisms are the values, beliefs, rituals, and procedures that give power-holders control over who and what issues are welcome at the decision-making table.

Within community development, this power is most obviously held by funders in their power to set agendas, timelines, and resources dedicated to change efforts through grant-making. Many funders today require grantees to use the *logic model* approach to intervention assessment, planning, and evaluation (Hendricks, Plantz, and Pritchard 2008). Professionals, over time, can prove to funders that they can deliver desired results, and thus expand their influence for decision-making and setting goals for implementation.

Efforts of communities to become more involved in the definition and planning of community change, on the other hand, have not generally been met with substantive institutional change or accommodation. For example, when civil rights and other grassroots activists demanded more influence over community development efforts funded by the federal government, the response was to incorporate a policy of "maximum feasible participation" (Arnstein 1969, 216). Some proponents called this a "bottom-up approach" to improve democratic legitimacy, but others claimed the policy was intended to be "sociotherapy" for poor, predominantly Black community members, and distinctly *not* designed to put power or control in their hands (Hoffman 2012, 20). Instead, the entire community development process was directed by professionals, including residents

only for the purpose of increasing community buy-in to their plans. Therefore, early evaluations of Urban Renewal programs called the approach to citizen participation an "empty ritual," a "sham," and "chicanery" (Arnstein 1969, 216, 218).

Philip Selznick (1949) found similar problems of "rubber stamping" in a study of the Tennessee Valley Authority's operations in the late 1940s. He conceptualized the phenomenon of *cooptation* as an institutional process through which representatives of groups who might challenge the status quo are brought into decision making circles, but are not actually given sufficient authority to have influence. Bachrach and Baratz (1962) analyzed this and other ways that power can be exercised covertly, noting "that power may be, and often is exercised by confining the scope of decision-making to relatively "safe" issues" (948).

Because evaluable deliverables are identified at the outset of a project, largely in response to funder-identified objectives, the ends of community development efforts are already established before community members are even engaged. Therefore, while many professional resources suggest incorporating public participation in the planning process (see for example, Hoffman 2012, HUD Exchange 2015, Phillips 2003, W. K. Kellogg Foundation 2004), some argue there has not been a qualitative departure from the tradition of "maximum feasible participation," calling participation "the new tyranny" (Cooke and Kothari 2004). Most participatory practice is simply failing to instantiate the "worldview in which communities are in control of the decision-making processes that affect their lives" (Ledwith and Springett 2010, 15).

In the *power-over* approach to community engagement in higher education, the university has control over the definition of problems. Solutions are generally centered on their own assets and expertise, and they maintain control over details such as the duration of partnerships and projects.

There are many systems and procedures for maintaining control and exclusivity among the participants and products of higher education. There are operationalized ranking systems for potential incoming students, for faculty through promotion and tenure, for individual articles as well as entire academic journals, and for individual higher education programs and institutions as a whole. Indeed, "academics are engaged in a profession focused in large part on earning and maintaining legitimacy within academia" (O'Meara 2016, 97). The neoliberalization of the university has only exacerbated the competitive and exclusive nature of higher education. These changes include performance-based funding as well as increased demands for externally funded research—even for faculty salaries and promotion and tenure evaluation (Orphan and O'Meara 2016). This not only affects *who* and *what* is allowed within the sphere of academia, but also impacts their success in working collaboratively with people outside the realm of academia (O'Meara 2016). Academics rarely receive training in effective and equitable community engagement (Driscoll 2009, loc. 376).

These external constraints shape scholarly agendas in the same way funders shape community development initiatives. Faculty are driven to bend community engagement activities toward the types of initiatives desired by power-holders. Furthermore, this exacerbates a tendency for institutional partners to maintain control in partnerships. This

is evidenced not only in the way that universities set the agenda for interventions based on their disciplinary expertise and interests, but also in details such as the timeline of partnerships. Longo, Kiesa, and Battistoni (2016) highlight "the problem of time" that is called out by John Wallace (2000). The limited time horizons and rigid schedules of university calendars do not match how communities operate. The culture of performance and procedures to maintain exclusivity militate against creativity and flexibility of timescape. Thus, it is not surprising that there is little evidence of "the role of community in agenda setting and decision making regarding community engagement" (Driscoll 2009, loc. 364).

Dimension 3: Hidden dominance over cultural and symbolic meanings

The third dimension of *power-over* is the cultural and symbolic dominance of institutions over communities. Its mechanisms are widely accepted social constructions as well as the cultural and psychological responses to long-term *power-over* dynamics. Thinly veiled by good intentions within this paradigm is an assumption of elitism—that trained professionals have the ability and right to choose and alter community outcomes through efforts of their own design. "It is assumed," Follett (1919) says, that people "will gladly agree to become automata when we show them all the things—nice, solid, objective things—they can have by abandoning their own experience in favor of a superior race of men called experts" (3).

Higher education is possibly the apex of this culturally accepted right to shape society, to define "the meaning of 'a good life,' and the direction of our common life as a whole" (Boyt 2015b, 13-14). This has also established the "cult of the expert,"

identifying the scientific method as unquestionable and scientific knowledge as "the only valid form of knowledge" (Boyt 2015b, 19). This "apotheosis of the expert" (Follett 2013, 3) transforms knowledge power unmistakably into *power-over*. This cultural and symbolic dominance of higher education may be precisely what is resented by those who are not affiliated with it as graduates, academics, or scholars. The current populist disdain toward higher education is thought to be due to the perceived irrelevance and arrogance on the part of higher education. Whether or not it was deliberate, the "long-standing ivory tower image, and, sometimes, reality" persists (Driscoll 2009, loc. 376).

A long history of this control and influence has led to a naturalization of power differentials among groups, making professional authority over marginalized communities seem like common sense. It is precisely the common sense belief that "the rule of that modern beneficent despot, the expert" is better than that of "a muddled, befogged 'people'" (Follett 2013, 3) which legitimizes and reinforces the contemporary logic of community development, making it nearly unchallengeable. Specifically, this dynamic has led to negative characterizations of communities. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) disparage the all too familiar images put forth by well-intentioned community developers of "needy and problematic and deficient neighborhoods populated by needy and problematic and deficient people" (2). While we cannot ignore the truth about the very real conditions of impoverished communities, within *power-over* community practice, experts often consider this "the whole truth" (2).

Power-With Manifestations

It is from these critiques that theorists and practitioners throughout the past century have generated affirmations of a shift toward a collaborative, co-creative, mutually respectful and reciprocal paradigm of *power-with* in community practice. The following section incorporates contributions from a host of community development scholars to provide a more robust explanation of the *power-with* approach to community engagement. It also draws from higher education scholars and academics dedicated to bringing about "the collaborative engagement paradigm" (Post et al. 2016a, loc. 309).

Dimension 1: Relationship-Driven Development of Power-With and Solidarity

In dimension 1, mechanisms of extensive political, financial, and organizational resources are used to build *power-with*, or solidarity, through collaborative decision-making and action. The associated principle Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) propose is "relationship-driven" approaches which "constantly build and rebuild the relationships between and among local residents, local associations and local institutions" (9). As anchor institutions, universities can engage in relationship building similar to the approach taken by the settlement house movement. Instead of imposing dominant values, women of the settlement house movement and social workers engaged in neighborhood community centers worked *with* community members as neighbors, according to shared values (Follett 1998, Stivers 2000).

This is an overall shift from doing things *to* or *for* a community, toward "multidirectional relationships that define reciprocity" (Saltmarsh et al. 2009, loc. 891). However, it is imperative that reciprocity is understood as more than mutual instrumental

benefit—this is about a paradigm shift toward "genuine collaboration" (O'Meara and Rice 2005, 28). Community members are no longer subjects of research or passive recipients of services—they are co-producers of knowledge and problem solving (Gibbons et al. 1994, Horowitz, Robinson, and Seifer 2009, Jacquez, Ward, and Goguen 2016, Longo and Gibson 2016, Lynton 1994, Rendón 2009).

Instead of exerting the *power-over* to implement material changes in communities, the overt practice of *power-with* is "a jointly developed power, a co-active, not a coercive power" (Follett 2003, 101). From this relational, process-oriented perspective, "our object is not to get certain things, or to have certain things; our object is to evolve the kind of life, the way of thinking, within which these specific things will naturally have place" (Follett 1998, 208). Thus, progress is a matter of both material gain and improvements in our way of collaborating. Likewise, evaluation must be *participatory* (Ledwith and Springett 2010). Indeed, allowing community and institutional partners to both challenge and inspire one another through participatory, critical reflection is essential to the paradigm shift toward co-learning (Azzahir 2014).

Dimension 2: Internally-Focused Development of Power-To and Agency

In dimension 2, mechanisms of the values, beliefs, rituals, and procedures are used to build *power-to*, or agency, among community members in the decision-making sphere. The associated principle Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) propose is "internally-focused," which unabashedly gives the agency and power of "definition, investment, creativity, hope, and control" to community members (9). In this way, the values, beliefs, rituals, and procedures *of the community* are integral to defining the decision-making

sphere. This does not diminish the role of professionals and academics, but "concentrates first of all upon the agenda building and problem-solving capacities of local residents" (9).

Many other critical community development scholars point to community agency and control as central to ethical, equitable work. Bhattacharyya (1995) argues that communities should have "the agency-giving powers of being able to define what the problems are, how they are caused, and what needs to be done with them" (62). Similarly, Ledwith and Springett (2010) argue for practice "in which communities are in control of the decision-making processes that affect their lives" (15). Collaborative engagement in academia shares these values of "community-driven priorities" and "shared and equitable decision-making" (Jacquez, Ward, and Goguen 2016, loc. 1870).

Transformation of agency and control in decision-making requires not only an affirmation of a different role for community members, but also institutional shifts. True transformation in this dimension of power requires a relinquishing of institutional control over community contribution and change (Snow 2014, White 2014a). "Deepening the work going forward may require that we loosen our grip on the community a bit, and take greater hold of the way our institutions operate" (White 2014a, 94). Thus, practitioners must shift their focus from communities alone to reshape their own institutions as well.

Institutional shifts must take place to counteract the systemic marginalization of community engaged practice within the academy (O'Meara 2016). This includes, but is not limited to, changes in merit metrics for students and faculty and additional monetary and institutional resources committed to community engagement. White (2014a) urges

administrators of higher education institutions to reimagine the policies and procedures that currently limit this kind of work.

Dimension 3: Asset-Based Development of Power-Within and Self-Efficacy

In dimension 3, mechanisms of social, cultural, and symbolic constructions are used to build *power-within*, or self-efficacy, among community members as it relates to cultural and symbolic legitimacy. The associated principle Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) propose is "asset-based," which "insists on beginning with a clear commitment to discovering a community's capacities and assets" (1). It is one that views community assets as not just available, but "absolutely necessary" (8). While needs are not disregarded, they are not disaggregated from the assets of both the place and its people, and what community members can do together to fulfill their own felt needs (Bhattacharyya 1995). This fundamentally shifts how community members are perceived as potential partners and how their community is assessed as a home.

Similarly, the new paradigm of collaborative engagement in higher education is undergirded by "an asset-based orientation that values the talents, knowledge, and experiences of all participants in the learning process" (Longo and Gibson 2016, loc. 1527). This leads to what Follett (2013) calls the "plus value," that comes from the integration of varied experience and expertise (xv). White (2014b) illustrates this paradigm shift in the context of a university-community partnership centered on diabetes. He argues that we can either assume that people experiencing higher rates of diabetes need more help or we can assume that they have more experience with the issue, making them the best partners in forming knowledge and planning for action. From his

perspective, outside collaboration from the university can be useful, but that "the level of innovation . . . would be far greater if we had started from the assumption of what people already possess—what they are able to produce without us—than what they haven't acquired and need to receive from us" (93).

However, simply stating that all people have something to contribute does not break the deeply rooted notion that professionals and academics hold value while people of marginalized communities do not. The problem of evaluative hierarchies remains. Therefore, Avila (2014) suggests the need for institutional partners to participate in substantive reflection and humility. Bhattacharyya (1995) posits that due to a long history of practices that undermine community agency and solidarity, critical reflection must be cognizant of both the current and historical practices that have perpetuated harm, maintained problematic power dynamics, and ultimately failed to bring about qualitative progress.

Ledwith (2011) states that in order to maintain "integrity and relevance," community practitioners must consistently interrogate how their work is either transforming or perpetuating systems of oppression (14). While this may be difficult work, "reassuring ourselves that our intentions were good . . . is ultimately less productive than reflecting on, accepting, and learning from our mistakes" (Plaut 2014, 105). Shifting the evaluative gaze from community deficits alone to community practice itself brings the institutions and their representatives into focus and reinforces an understanding that they are just as fallible as community members.

The Resulting Theoretical Framework

The resulting theoretical framework is presented in table 4. The components listed under *power-over manifestations* identify characteristics that are now seen as less desirable, while the affirmational components listed under *power-with manifestations* point to those which are now claimed as aspirational in both higher education and community development. The aspirational *power-with* ideal-type is of primary importance in this analysis, while the *power-over* ideal-type provides guidance for assessing characteristics that are not aligned with *power-with*. These ideal-typical descriptions enable assessment of university-community partnership quality based on whether it displays characteristics of *power-over* or *power-with*, thus providing a theoretical foundation for further operationalizing principles and practices in the empirical portion of this study, described in chapter 3.

Table 4. The Resulting Theoretical Framework

Dimensions of Power	**Mechanisms**	***Power-Over* Manifestations**	***Power-With* Manifestations**
1	• Political, financial, and organizational resources • Positionality	*Overt dominance* over decision-making and action • Professional-centered • Extensive resources • Hierarchical mechanisms for planning and action • Relationships among power-holders	*Power-with* or solidarity • Relationship-driven • Co-learning
2	• Values, beliefs, rituals • Institutional procedures	*Latent dominance* over the decision-making sphere • Outside-in • Institution-determined agenda and timescape • Values, beliefs, rituals, and procedures to maintain exclusivity	*Power-to* or agency • Internally-focused • Relinquishing institutional control • Institutional shifts
3	• Social construction and symbolic meanings • Cultural response to long-term power dynamics	*Hidden dominance* over cultural and symbolic meanings • Deficiency-oriented • Paternalist thinking • University as the apex of all knowledge and expertise • The unquestionability of science and its methods	*Power-within* or self-efficacy • Asset-based • Reflection and humility

3 EMPIRICAL RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The two remaining phases of this study comprise the empirical portion of this study: (2) completion of an interpretive, qualitative content analysis of university rhetoric about community engagements to further operationalize the theoretical framework, and (3) assessment of the potential relevance and usefulness of the analytical framework in assessing common aspirational goals of university-community engagement through comparative analyses. This chapter explains the research design, methodology, and methods used in these phases of the study and discusses both delimitations and limitations of that design.

Research Design

Increasingly, universities employ community engagement in their pursuit of teaching, research, and service. Based on the anecdotal evidence that inspired this study, this trend is particularly interesting in the case of universities that are deeply invested in both research and community engagement. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT) recognizes this work through an elective Community Engagement Classification. Similarly, the Anchor Institutions Dashboard Learning Cohort (AIDLC) promotes university-community partnerships. Both initiatives promote self-assessment and the advancement of knowledge-building around university-community partnerships. Both initiatives also espouse aspirational goals of equity, social justice, democratic practice (Marga n.d.), mutual respect, shared authority, and co-creation (Swearer Center for Public Service 2018, 10).

Noting that much of the research on this phenomenon is relatively insular to higher education, relevant literature on community development and theories of power was used to develop a theoretically informed analytical framework for assessing power dynamics in university-community partnerships, as presented in table 1. In this study, the framework is used to interpret the manner in which community engagements are described as manifesting the desired empowerment of community partners through the building of:

(1) power-*within* (self-efficacy) among community partners;

(2) *power-to* (agency) among community partners; and

(3) *power-with* (solidarity) between the university and community partners.

The purpose of this phase of the study is to further operationalize the theoretical framework developed in chapter 2 through an interpretive content analysis of rhetorical claims made by universities about community engagement.

Finally, to determine whether the community development literature and its treatment of power informs a more robust assessment of university-community partnerships than the higher education literature alone, the analytical framework is then assessed in comparison to indicators from both CFAT and AIDLC.

Methodological Approach

The methodological approach is a qualitative discourse analysis of written content to analyze power dynamics in university-community engagement with a particular focus on university-community partnerships. Discourse analysis has become increasingly popular in the social sciences since the 1980s, providing a methodology for research on

communication, culture, and society (Phillips 2017). Most approaches are based on constructionist social theory which holds that "social phenomena are, at least to some extent, created in social interaction and that all knowledge is a contingent, socially and historically specific, product of our ways of categorizing the world through meaning-making in language" (391). Thus, discourse communicates both intentions and assumptions (Howarth 2000).

The method used in this discourse analysis methodology is a *content analysis*. The unit of analysis is rhetorical claims made by universities about their university-community partnerships. As will be further explained in regard to data collection, the discourse analyzed is written content which was readily available via institutional websites (see appendix A for exact website locations). This data source was chosen primarily due to the time and financial resource limitations of this study. This study draws from a range of content analysis practices (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, Kuckartz 2014). There are two qualifiers to the content analysis undertaken. First, it is a *qualitative* content analysis, which is a "subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1278). This is appropriate for this study because the research questions involve interpreting *the meaning* universities convey when talking about their community engagements, not simply *what* they say or *how often* they say those things.

Second, it is a *directed content analysis*, meaning theory is used to develop broad themes and categories for coding data (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1286). As established in chapter 2, there is sufficient community development theory and literature around power

in institutional-community partnerships (Follett 1918, 1919, 1924, Gaventa 1982, 2006, Kretzmann and McKnight 1993, Ledwith 2011, Ledwith and Springett 2010), as well as sufficiently aligned higher education literature (Boyt 2015a, Hamerlinck and Plaut 2014, Post et al. 2016b) to develop a theoretical grounding to the analytical framework. However, because this study considers how universities qualitatively align with or diverge from the aspirational ideal-type of *power-with* community practice, this study uses a "multi-stage process of categorizing and coding" known as *deductive-inductive category construction* (Kuckartz 2014, 69) to further operationalize these characteristics. As will be further explicated in regard to the coding procedure, broad themes and categories were derived from theory, but sub-categories were inductively identified through the iterative content analysis itself.

The Analytical Framework

Chapter 2 drew from community development and higher education literature to develop two paradigmatic descriptions of *power-over* and *power-with* community practice. These theoretical ideal-types provide the foundation for an evaluative framework that can be operationalized and used to assess the quality of university-community partnerships. As Weber (1949a) explains, "[o]nly through ideal-typical concept-construction do the viewpoints with which we are concerned in individual cases become explicit. Their peculiar character is brought out by the *confrontation* of empirical reality with the ideal-type" (110). Thus, the theoretical framework was interpretively analyzed by confronting its concepts with actual university rhetoric. This process

clarified the meanings of categories and contributed to the development of sub-categories.

Population and Sample Selection

This study looks to public universities heavily invested in both research and community engagement and how they represent their university-community partnerships in order to operationalize the theoretical framework. Thus, the population was identified using both the Carnegie basic institutional classification and its elective Community Engagement classification. The Carnegie basic institutional classification is often used in the design of research studies "to ensure adequate representation of sampled institutions, students, or faculty" (Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research 2015). The elective classification is being used for the same reasons (see Driscoll 2009), and the latest application asks for permission to use the information provided for further research (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2018b).

There are currently 359 Carnegie classified Community Engagement institutions which were classified through the New England Resource Center for Higher Education (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2018c). There are: 1 private for-profit, 152 private not-for-profit, and 206 public institutions of higher education. Their basic Carnegie Classifications are: 148 Doctoral Universities, 124 Master's Colleges and Universities, 53 Baccalaureate Colleges, 3 Baccalaureate/Associate's Colleges, 20 Associate's Colleges, 11 Special Focus Institutions, and 0 Tribal Colleges. The Doctoral Universities are stratified as follows: 61 Highest Research Activity (R1), 50 Higher Research Activity (R2), and 37 Moderate Research Activity (R3).

The introduction in chapter 1 indicated that all American universities prioritize and make decisions about balancing higher education's three purposes of knowledge production through research and knowledge dissemination through teaching and service. However, to maintain their distinctions, R1 universities must prioritize the purpose of knowledge production. Publicly-funded universities must fulfill the teaching mission with which they are charged. Finally, while any university can answer the call to invest in community service, those that seek the elective Community Engagement classification make this a priority. This puts public, R1, Community Engagement universities in an interesting position, as they are expected to excel in *all* aspects of higher education's purposes. Thus, this study considers public universities that are Carnegie classified as both R1 and Community Engagement institutions, of which there are currently 49.

Due to limitations of time and financial resources, not all 49 universities could be included in the study. Because the aim of this research project is to analyze rhetoric through an interpretive discourse analysis methodology using a qualitative content analysis method, it was paramount to select universities with high articulation prowess, as well as centralized machinery for such documentation. Furthermore, as discussed in chapter 1, university-community partnerships provide a unique opportunity to pursue both research and teaching and both community and economic development. Those public R1 institutions that have taken on this challenge are the specific population of interest. Therefore, non-probability sampling was utilized to identify these institutions.

Several selection criteria were employed. First, universities were selected that had a university-wide division or office of community engagement. Selected universities also

had a link to this office somewhere on their web homepage. Not only did this make data more accessible (convenience sampling), but this level of visibility also indicates a commitment to community engagement as part of the university's identity (deliberate sampling). A final selection criterion was created to ensure that the university had some dedication to community engagement beyond service and outreach, specifically to partnerships (deliberate sampling), using the university-wide website search bar for "community partnership." Universities were selected if this retrieved university-generated content beyond material simply describing or announcing the university's Carnegie classification as a Community Engagement institution and its definition.

These parameters resulted in a sample of seven universities from the total public R1/Community Engagement institutions population of 49: Colorado State University-Fort Collins, Kansas State University, Michigan State University, University of Connecticut, University of Louisville, University of Tennessee-Knoxville, and Virginia Commonwealth University.

Data Collection

Because the unit of analysis is rhetorical claims made by universities about their university-community partnerships, the written content analyzed was extracted from institutional websites, specifically from the university's office/division of community engagement (see appendix A for exact website locations). Relevant data included but was not limited to: mission and vision statements, details about the office or division itself, strategic plans for community engagement, community engagement awards, newsletters and reports, community engagement initiative profiles, descriptions of outreach activities,

and descriptions of events. For each university, all verbiage was systematically copied and pasted from the website into a word document, all of which were kept in files assigned to each university on the researcher's laptop. Beginning with the office/division home page, all content was copied. From there, every tab on the office/division home page was accessed and the content was copied from each landing page. Finally, all relevant links such as "related articles," "stories," or "learn more" on each of these pages was accessed and the content copied.

As with any content analysis, inclusion and exclusion criteria are important for bounding data collection (Guthrie et al. 2018). Thus, data was bounded to include only documentation from 2015 onwards. For example, if there were newsletters archived beyond 2015, they were not captured in this process. This determination was made due to the fact that universities comprising this study's population were either classified or reclassified as Community Engagement institutions in 2015.

Coding Procedure

As noted earlier, this study used a "multi-stage process of categorizing and coding" known as *deductive-inductive category construction* (Kuckartz 2014, 69). A two-phased coding process was used, which included a deductive development of categories (from theory) and an inductive construction of sub-categories from the data, with multiple rounds of coding. An intercoder review was also undertaken by Margaret Stout, an external reviewer who is an established community development practitioner and scholar in the field. This process operationalized the analytical framework developed in this study.

First, broad themes on power dynamics were derived from community development theory, in order to search for indications of: dimension 1 (D1) overt power fostering *power-with* (solidarity) in decisions made and actions taken, dimension 2 (D2) latent power fostering *power-to* (agency) in the decision making sphere, and dimension 3 (D3) cultural power fostering *power-within* (self-efficacy) through acknowledging communities' symbolic meanings and value. Categories within these three broad themes (Graneheim, Lindgren, and Lundman 2017) were derived from both the community development and community engagement in higher education literature.

Kuckartz (2014) suggests testing the categories on 10-20% of the data to ensure categories are sufficient and appropriate for collecting relevant data. So, the categories were used to sort data from one out of the seven universities (14% of the data sources). Data from this process was also used in the construction of initial sub-categories through an inductive coding process (Kuckartz 2014).

The universities were put into alphabetical order and an online randomizer was used to select one university for this process, resulting in the choice of the University of Connecticut. As the content within Microsoft Word was read and interpreted, categories were identified. The selection was highlighted, and a comment was added in the margin in regard to the category or categories to which the selection appeared to belong, based on the meaning implied. This process confirmed that all original categories were relevant, but insufficient: two categories were added, which will be explained further in chapter 4. After coding all content, category comments and their associated content selections were

reconsidered to identify emergent sub-categories. These were noted by "replying" to the initial code comment.

Taken together, these categories and their associated sub-categories, organized by dimensions of power, were used to code content from the remaining six universities. Throughout the remaining coding process, notes were made for selections which did not appear to fit into the initial sub-categories. As explicated further in the data analysis subsection, the coded selections of content were transferred into a master Excel spreadsheet. A total of 606 coded entries were included in the final data set. This facilitated working through all new sub-categories, eliminating categories that had insufficient data, adding categories that were not initially recognized, renaming categories and sub-categories for clarification, and combining sub-categories that were redundant.

After the framework was deemed complete and finalized, all data was checked and re-coded for consistency as needed, including verification by the second coder described earlier of approximately 50 percent of the data. Approximately 10 percent of those entries were re-coded. Discussion between coders of why the entries were re-coded led to the final adjustments to the categories and sub-categories. Those that changed were checked one final time and re-coded for consistency as needed. A thorough explanation of these changes is given in chapter 4, as these analyses are considered findings in the development and assessment of the analytical framework.

Data Analysis

Once all content was fully coded by categories and sub-categories, direct quote, category, and subcategory information was transferred to Excel spreadsheets to organize data in a manner similar to that of a *profile matrix* (Kuckartz 2014, 67). Because the unit of analysis was not universities but rather rhetorical claims made by similar universities, the data were merged into one spreadsheet for code checking as previously described and analysis of the data as a whole was completed. The data were organized into the Excel spreadsheet as follows.

As shown in table 5, the university name was inserted into column A of the spreadsheet to maintain the ability to go back to original data if necessary for clarifications. The direct quote drawn from the data source was inserted into column B, which enables interpretation and selection of illustrative quotes in the narrative discussion of findings. The associated category based on interpretation was inserted into column C, which allows for broader analysis on category findings. The associated sub-category based on interpretation was inserted into column D, which allows for more specific analysis. Lastly, column E includes notes regarding relationships to other categories and subcategories for consideration in the findings and concluding discussion.

Table 5. Data Coding Example

A	**B**	**C**	**D**	**E**
Name	**Quote**	**Category**	**Sub-Category**	**Notes**
UTK	The Office of Community Engagement and Outreach (OCEO) was established in 2013 as part of UT's intention to more deeply integrate community engagement	institutional shifts	institutional support	

As shown in table 6, sometimes a single quote had meanings associated with two or more categories. As an example, "matching community needs, as determined by our partner" was coded as both *deficiency-oriented (needs)* and *community-focused (community-defined focus)*. In this event, the data line was replicated to accommodate all associated categories. In this example, columns A and B were identical, but on the first line, column C was *deficiency-oriented*, column D was *needs*, and column E was *community-focused*. For the second line, column C was *community-focused*, column D was *community-defined issues*, and column E was *deficiency-oriented*. Indeed, the coding procedure itself was the first analysis of the data.

Table 6. Replicated Data Coding Example

A	B	C	D	E
Name	**Quote**	**Category**	**Sub-Category**	**Notes**
UCONN	matching community needs, as determined by our partner	deficiency-oriented	neediness	community-focused
UCONN	matching community needs, as determined by our partner	community-focused	community-defined focus	deficiency-oriented

As discussed earlier in the research purpose explanation, the ultimate purpose of this study is to test the analytical framework for relevance in assessing university-community partnerships. Thus, analysis of the data from universities has two parts. First, analysis of the empirical data informed changes to the framework. As noted in coding procedure, this process of working through, adding, and changing categories and sub-categories is thoroughly explained in chapter 4. The resulting finalized framework is thus informed by both theory and practice.

Second was the analysis of the relevance and contribution of the analytical framework. The framework was used to examine the empirical data gathered from universities, primarily engaging the contribution of the interrelationships between categories and thematic dimensions of power. Finally, to ensure that it is reasonably aligned with the field's expectations, brief comparative analyses were conducted between the framework and both (1) pertinent elements of the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification 2020 application framework and (2) identified aspirations of the Anchor Institutions Task Force and Learning Cohort.

Delimitations

This content analysis did *not* make an evaluative assessment of how individual universities are carrying out their community partnerships. This would have been impossible to do well without information from community partners in addition to information reported by the universities, which would have been well beyond the available time and financial resources. However, this content analysis did use university rhetorical claims to operationalize the theoretical framework, so that it might be useful in such assessment in future research. Theoretically directed content analysis is generally seen as risky because "researchers approach the data with an informed but, nonetheless, strong bias" (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1283). However, this is the nature of interpretive assessment and evaluation—to compare phenomena to specified values. This risk was mitigated through use of a second inductive phase, allowing empirical data to inform and clarify the theoretical framework.

Because the primary purpose of this study was not to evaluate the institutions, it was unnecessary to add further analytical steps to draw more definitive evaluative conclusions about the selected universities. Thus, not every single relevant data point was coded. Therefore, definitive conclusions cannot be drawn quantitatively in regard to the degree to which university rhetoric indicates *power-with* practice in the population sample. While the framework developed herein would enable the qualitative assessment of the depth of *power-with* practice, this was not the purpose of this study.

Furthermore, during the coding process, it was determined that the analysis would not consider evidence of *power-over*. For example, there were so many instances of material that would have been coded *deficiency-oriented* that the number of entries would have been prohibitive for a single human coder to analyze. Therefore, only the *power-with* ideal-type is further developed in the empirical component of the research design.

As noted in the explanation of the population and sample selection procedure, there were 359 Carnegie classified Community Engagement institutions, 49 of which are also public, R1 universities. Clearly, this is a subset of all higher education institutions involved in community engagement and thus the framework is uninformed by non-R1 or private institutions. In that some of its components (the subcategories) were inductively crafted, the lack of representativeness of the sample is a limitation to generalizability. While the only conclusions drawn from the study are related to the potential usefulness of the analytical framework itself, further use of this framework beyond R1, public, Carnegie classified Community Engagement institutions will have to be cognizant of this limitation.

Limitations

Researcher bias is a distinct possibility as the child of a community development practitioner, with over two years of professional experience as a community development practitioner, and as a graduate assistant in a research unit that engages in community development activities at Arizona State University, a public, Carnegie classified R1 and Community Engagement university. However, in the same way that theory introduces bias but also information and relevance, proximity to both community development practice and university-community partnerships provides familiarity with concepts and practices relevant to this study. All the same, in order to mitigate the risks of researcher bias in this interpretive assessment, an intercoder check was completed as noted earlier.

Given a predisposition to see shortcomings in the practices of universities based on anecdotal evidence, researcher bias may become an issue in future research on the lived experiences of community members in university partnerships but has little influence on this particular study because the intention is to develop a sound analytical framework as opposed to evaluating specific cases.

4 EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

There are two sets of findings for the empirical portion of this study. The first section in this chapter describes findings from the interpretive, qualitative content analysis of university rhetoric about community engagements undertaken to further operationalize the theoretical framework. Specifically, it outlines the iterative process and changes made to the framework, and then explains the meanings of the final operationalized analytical framework in detail, all using exemplary quotes from the data to illustrate.

The second set of findings in this chapter explains the potential relevance and usefulness of the analytical framework in assessing common aspirational goals of university-community engagement. Toward this end, the second section presents comparative analyses between the analytical framework and both (1) pertinent elements of the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification 2020 application framework and (2) stated aspirations of the Anchor Institutions Task Force and Dashboard Learning Cohort. Chapter 5 discusses the insight gained from using the framework to analyze the empirical data gathered from universities and the framework's potential usefulness in future research and assessment.

Enhancing the Framework with Empirical Data

Literature from community development as well as community engagement in higher education supported the development of a theoretical framework for assessing university-community partnerships. However, the iterative coding process of interpretive content analysis produced a more nuanced and operationalized analytical framework that

is grounded in both theory and practice. This section begins with a brief description of the theoretical framework developed in chapter 2, organized by Gaventa's (1982) three dimensions of power (D1, D2, and D3), and drawing heavily from Asset-Based Community Development (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993) and Asset-Based Community Engagement (Hamerlinck and Plaut 2014) to develop categories for coding. It then outlines the process and changes made to the framework. Finally, the section ends with definitions and examples from the data.

The Original Framework Revisited

The first dimension of *power-over* (D1) is overt dominance in decision-making, and is transformed through *power-with*, a collaborative and co-active power which requires collaborative knowledge generation and action (Azzahir 2014). This shift from doing things *to*, or *for* communities to doing things *with* them requires deep investment in relationship building to increase trust among partners (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). Thus, categories within the first dimension are (1) *relationship-driven* and (2) *co-learning*.

The second dimension of *power-over* (D2) is the latent dominance of the decision-making sphere, which manifests in the institutional authority to establish agendas and lead initiatives. The countervailing force is to build community *power-to*, or agency within the context of partnership activities. To do this, an internally-focused approach must center the authority and control of community members in defining the focus of partnerships and leading initiatives in which universities engage (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). This requires institutional partners to relinquish institutional control

and make other shifts to support engagement (White 2014a). Thus, categories within this dimension were (3) *internally-focused*, (4) *relinquishing institutional control*, and (5) *institutional shifts*.

The third dimension of *power-over* (D3) explains the hidden cultural dominance of institutions over communities. To counteract this hidden domination, institutional partners must build community members' *power-within* by taking an asset-based approach to viewing communities (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993), and reflecting on themselves and their work as partners (Avila 2014). Thus, the two categories developed for this dimension were (6) *asset-based* and (7) *reflection and humility*.

As stated in chapter 3, the iterative process of the content analysis began with the coding of 14% of data sources, or one university of seven, to check the relevance of the seven categories, as well as to inductively identify sub-categories with which to code the rest of the data. The first university coded was the University of Connecticut (UCONN). This process confirmed that all categories were relevant, but two categories were added. Specifically, while the empirical portion of this study did not aim to interpret the manner in which community engagements are described as manifesting *power-over*, there appeared to be sufficient data to create binary pairs to two of Kretzmann and McKnight's (1993) principles *asset-based* and *community-focused* categories, thus creating (8) *deficiency-oriented* and (9) *outside-in*.

Initial Sub-Categories

Coding of the first 14% of data resulted in the identification of multiple sub-categories for each of the theoretically identified categories. For the sake of clarity and

succinctness, examples of data will not be provided in this section. Actual rhetorical claims and their attendant categories and sub-categories will be provided in the section identifying changes to the framework as well as in explaining the final analytical framework.

Within *asset-based*, sub-categories that became evident were *the ability to contribute thought*, *skills and expertise*, and *physical community assets*. For *deficiency-oriented*, there appeared to be a differentiation between *problems* and *neediness*. The sub-categories that were evident for *reflection and humility* were *acknowledging past wrongs*, *critical reflection*, *cultural humility*, *institutional humility*, and *acknowledging need for new skills*. Sub-categories for *internally-focused* were *centered on community assets*, *community definition*, and *community determined action*. Similarly, the sub-categories for *outside-in* were *centered on university assets/expertise*, *university definition*, and *hierarchical intervention.* For *relinquishing institutional control*, sub-categories were *collective action*, and *collective planning*. *Institutional shift* sub-categories were *accessibility to community*, *merit metrics*, and *institutional support*. Sub-categories for *relationship driven* included *develop local leadership*, and *(re)building relationships*. Lastly, *co-learning* sub-categories were *knowledge co-production & exchange*, *co-teaching*, and *co-articulation*.

Taken together, these categories and their associated sub-categories, organized by dimensions of power, served to code data from the remaining six universities. Throughout the remaining coding process, notes were made for selections which did not appear to fit into the initial sub-categories. The remaining six universities were Colorado

State University-Fort Collins (CSUFC), Kansas State University (KSU), Michigan State University (MSU), University of Louisville (UL), University of Tennessee-Knoxville (UTK), and Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU). These abbreviations will be used to refer to the universities when quotes are offered in the following sections.

Changes to the Framework

Through an iterative coding process of the 606 data entries, many changes were made to the framework. New categories and sub-categories were identified. Categories and sub-categories were either made broader or more specific. Category assignments of sub-categories shifted. Clarifications were made to the language used, given the full operationalization. The presentation of these changes will be organized by Gaventa's (1982) three dimensions of power, moving from D1 to D3 as presented in chapter 2. However, it should be noted that D3 is established by a long history of *power-over* in D1 and D2, which in turn provides a recursive foundation for *power-over* in D1 and D2. Therefore, the dimensions are mutually influencing in complex patterns of effect. Transformational change may require shifts at the deeper levels of D3, as opposed to more simplistic adjustments only to D1 or D2.

Changes to D1: **Power-with** *or solidarity in decision-making and action*

Two sub-categories exchanged placement between D1 and D2. The clarification that the data influenced in this case was the difference between the decision making sphere (D2) and the actual decisions and action (D1). For example, a program at UCONN of meetings which "focus on training, network-building and sharing of best practices" and are "open to students, staff, faculty and community partners" are an example of

knowledge exchange which is not actual decisions or action. Thus, *knowledge exchange & co-production* was disaggregated. *Knowledge exchange* was moved to *relinquishing institutional control* (D2) and the category *co-learning* became *co-production*, which is better able to encompass *co-learning* (which was still evident in the data and thus became a sub-category), *co-teaching, co-articulation*, and *collaborative action* (the new name for *collective action* so as not to be confused with the legal term). Examples of each of these will be presented in the final conceptual definitions and data exemplars section. As will be discussed later, the confusion in initial coding between these contents of D1 and the category *relinquishing institutional control* (D2) is what inspired a deeper consideration of the interrelationships between these dimensions and the subsequent unique contribution of the framework.

Two other small changes were made to this dimension of the framework. First, while the community development literature is more concerned with the qualitative characteristics of relationships, the sub-category *mutual benefit* was added to *relationship-driven*. This was because of its centrality to the Carnegie Community Engagement application framework and the fact that it was featured so heavily in the data. Second, there was not enough evidence for the sub-category *develop local leadership* beyond data from UCONN. Some of this data was recoded as *collaborative action* under *co-production*, such as "collaboration and reciprocity with the community" (UCONN). Some of the data was an acknowledgment of community *skills and expertise*, so it was categorized as such under an *asset-based view of people and place* (D3). An example of this is UCONN's "intensive workforce development program for unemployed

seasoned professionals age 50+ seeking to transition their skill-sets and experience into successful professional and managerial employment in the Connecticut nonprofit sector." While this is an example of developing local leadership, it is primarily an acknowledgement of the skills held by participants of the workforce development program. These changes are outlined in figure 1.

Figure 1. Changes to D1: *Power-with* or solidarity in decision-making and action

Original Framework	→	**Operationalized Framework with Initial Sub-Categories**	→	**Finalized Analytical Framework**
• Relationship-driven	→	• Relationship-driven o Develop local leadership o (Re)building relationships	→	• Relationship-driven o Mutual benefit o (Re)building relationships
• Co-learning	→	• Co-learning o Knowledge co-production & exchange o Co-teaching o Co-articulation	→	• Co-production o Co-learning o Co-teaching o Co-articulation o Collaborative action

Changes to D2:* Power-to *or community agency in the decision-making sphere

In D2, first, a series of changes were made to the categories *internally-focused* and *outside-in*. This stemmed from a conversation between coders. *Internally-focused* is the language of Kretzmann and McKnight (1993), but can be confusing given that relevant material comes from the university position, so this was clarified to *community control over definition of problems and solutions*. Similarly, *outside-in* became *university control over definition of problems and solutions*.

To keep the parallel between *power-over* and *power-with* in D2, *community determined action* and *hierarchical intervention* were similarly renamed *community-led initiatives* and *university-led initiatives*, respectively. The distinction between *-defined focus* and *-led initiatives* became clearer through this process: the former is about defining needs/assets/goals, and the latter is about defining the solution or actions to be taken to achieve those goals. Therefore, some data that had been coded as *community determined action* was recoded as *community-defined focus*. An example of this is "community issues will be identified in a participatory process with the community" (UL). *Centered on community assets* simply did not prove itself as a distinct sub-category beyond the UCONN data. Data coded as such were recoded into other sub-categories. For example, a UCONN program in which community members share their expertise to "jointly develop and apply solutions" was recoded as *asset-based view of people and places* and *collaborative action*.

Similarly, based on a conversation between coders, *centered on university assets/expertise* was removed as a distinct sub-category. A focus on university assets and expertise does not inherently indicate *power-over*. Thus, some of this data was removed, such as KSU "providing therapy services on a range of issues" or "high quality, comprehensive services to individuals with communication or swallowing impairments." The majority of the remaining data coded as such were recoded into *university-defined focus*, such as UCONN's claim that "Our students have the ideas, they have the answers." Others were recoded as *university-led initiatives* such as a program at UCONN which conducted a "health assessment survey" in order to "target their future interventions to

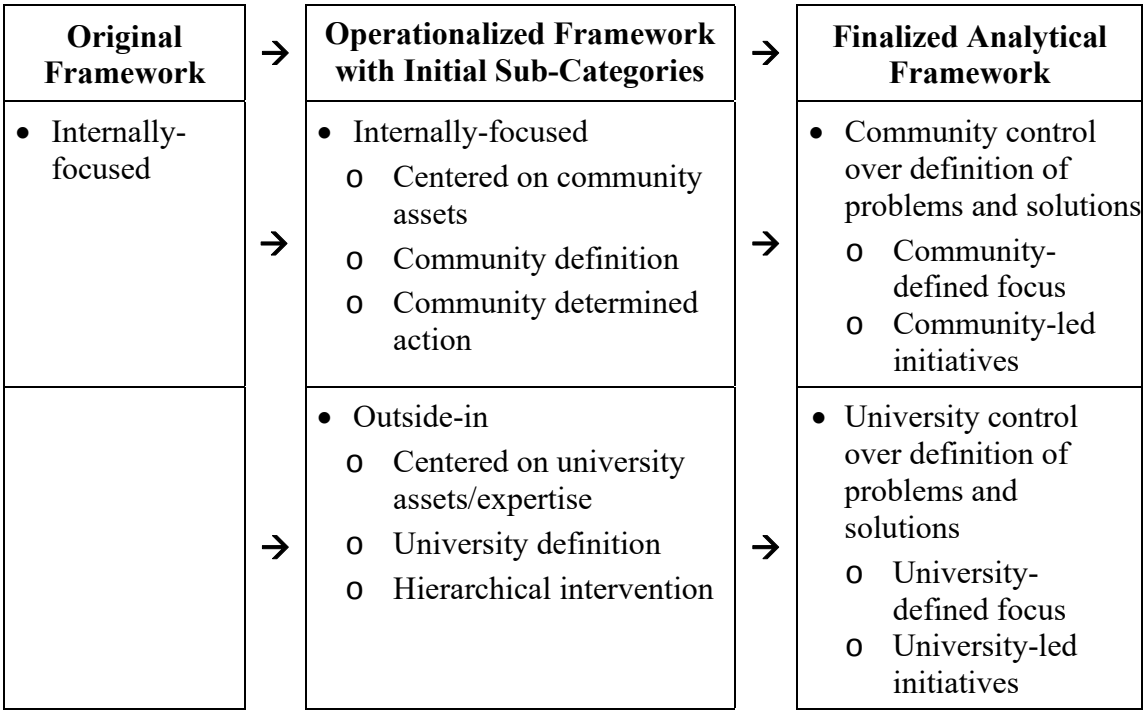
address issues specific to the community." A small portion of these were recoded as *community as needing the university's service and care* (formerly *deficiency-oriented*) such as a KSU program to use their expertise to "identify all the water quality protection and restoration needs of a watershed." In fact, it was this connection of university expertise to a deficit view of communities that inspired the category's label change and clarification.

The second set of changes in this dimension of the framework is tied to the question of whether or not institutional shifts are actually relinquishing institutional control over partnerships. First, some clarifications were made upon the suggestion of the second coder. The category *institutional shifts* was clarified and expanded to become *institutional shift to increase or improve engagement*. The original intent of the sub-category *accessibility to community* was to indicate accessibility to the decision-making sphere by way of advisory boards and the like, thus the sub-category was renamed *community influence*. Acknowledging that there is a difference between the mere existence of a formal body and evidence of actual influence, data which indicated only the existence of an advisory body was recoded as *community advisory role*, a new sub-category under *institutional shift*. An example of this is KSU's "CECD Advisory Board" which "acts in an advisory and leadership capacity to CECD and its Director." *Community influence* was moved to *relinquishing institutional control* and includes data which show evidence of actual influence. An example that shows how this advisory role can actually have influence is the "VCU Institutional Review Board (IRB) - a committee of VCU faculty, staff and representatives of the community who are not associated with

VCU" that has influence over which projects are given approval. Lastly, because it did not appear to have any bearing on power dynamics in university-community partnerships, all *merit metrics* were recoded as *institutional support*.

As explicated in the discussion of changes in D1, the sub-category *knowledge exchange* was extracted from *co-learning* (D1) and moved to *relinquishing institutional control* (D2). Similarly, but inverted, the sub-category *collective action* was extracted from *relinquishing institutional control* (D2) and was moved to *co-learning* (D1), which was subsequently renamed *co-production*. All changes to the second dimension can be found in figure 2.

Figure 2. Changes to D2: *Power-to* or community agency in the decision-making sphere



Original Framework	→	Operationalized Framework with Initial Sub-Categories	→	Finalized Analytical Framework
• Relinquishing institutional control	→	• Relinquishing institutional control o Collective action o Collective planning	→	• Relinquishing institutional control o Knowledge exchange o Community influence o Collaborative planning and evaluation
• Institutional shifts	→	• Institutional shifts o Accessibility to community o Merit metrics o Institutional support	→	• Institutional shifts to increase or improve engagement o Institutional support o Community advisory role

Changes to D3: Cultural and symbolic* power-within *or self-efficacy

The most important change made in D3 was around nuances in reflection and humility. There was data to suggest that not all reflection and humility was directly connected to the role of the institution, for example the "continuous reflection assignments" (UTK) and other "reflective activities" (UCONN) suggested for students in service learning community partnerships. Thus, *reflection and humility* was renamed *institutional self-reflection* and *individual self-reflection* was added to differentiate this form of self-reflection. A*cknowledging need for new skills* was recoded as *humility* under *institutional self-reflection*, as it is an expression of institutional humility. The sub-category *cultural humility* had initially been created to code data which recommended student reflection and humility but did not necessarily connect that reflection to

institutional role within partnerships. Some of these reflections were critical and some were not, thus *critical reflection* and *non-critical reflection* were created as sub-categories. Examples of each to display the difference are outlined later in conceptual definitions and data exemplars.

Conversations between coders led to a series of other clarifications in the language of the categories. For example, because the university's assets were discussed in the data, *asset-based* was clarified to *asset-based view of people and place*. Similarly, and which will be further explicated in the second dimension, *deficiency-oriented* was renamed *community as needing the university's service and care*, as discussed in changes to D2 when *centered on university assets/expertise* was eliminated as a sub-category and some of the data was recoded as this sub-category. Because data referred to existing resources and assets without being specific to *physical community assets*, such as "existing resources and assets" (MSU) this sub-category was renamed *community resources*. The progression of dimension 3 in the framework is outlined in figure 3.

Figure 3. Changes to D3: Cultural and symbolic *Power-within* or self-efficacy

Original Framework	→	**Operationalized Framework with Initial Sub-Categories**	→	**Finalized Analytical Framework**
• Asset-based	→	• Asset-based o Ability to contribute thought o Skills and expertise o Physical community assets	→	• Asset-based view of people and place o Ability to contribute thought o Skills and expertise o Community resources

Original Framework	→	Operationalized Framework with Initial Sub-Categories	→	Finalized Analytical Framework
	→	• Deficiency-oriented o Problems o Neediness	→	• Community as needing the university's service and care o Problems o Neediness
• Reflection and humility	→	• Reflection and humility o Acknowledging past wrongs o Critical reflection o Cultural humility o Institutional humility • Acknowledging need for new skills	→	• Institutional self-reflection o Critical reflection o Humility o Acknowledging past wrongs • Individual self-reflection o Critical reflection o Non-critical reflection

Conceptual Definitions and Data Exemplars

Given the changes outlined, this section is meant to clearly articulate each of the concepts included in the finalized framework. The final operationalized framework can be found in table 7. Because emphasis was on the *power-with* ideal-type, the *power-with* manifestations column is far more fleshed out than *power-over*. This column is still included, however, because the data so clearly displayed *power-over* manifesting in D2 and D3. Organized by dimension of power and category, this section defines and gives data exemplars for each sub-category. The abbreviations used for data sources are: CSUFC (Colorado State University-Fort Collins), KSU (Kansas State University), MSU (Michigan State University), UL (University of Louisville), UTK (University of Tennessee-Knoxville), and VCU (Virginia Commonwealth University).

Table 7. The Operationalized Framework

Dimensions of Power	***Power-Over* Manifestations**	***Power-With* Manifestations**

1	*Overt dominance* over decision-making and action	*Power-with* or solidarity
		• Relationship-driven
		  o Mutual benefit
		  o (Re)building relationships
		• Co-learning
		  o Co-learning
		  o Co-teaching
		  o Co-articulation
		  o Collaborative action

2	*Latent dominance* over the decision-making sphere
	• University control over definition of problems and solutions
	  o University-defined focus
	  o University-led initiatives
		Power-to or agency
		• Community control over definition of problems and solutions
		  o Community-defined focus
		  o Community-led initiatives
		• Relinquishing institutional control
		  o Knowledge exchange
		  o Community influence
		  o Collaborative planning and evaluation
		• Institutional shifts to increase or improve engagement
		  o Institutional support
		  o Community advisory role

Dimensions of Power	*Power-Over* Manifestations	*Power-With* Manifestations

3	*Hidden dominance* over cultural and symbolic meanings
	• Community as needing the university's service and care
	  o Problems
	  o Neediness
		Power-within or self-efficacy
		• Asset-based view of people and place
		  o Ability to contribute thought
		  o Skills and expertise
		  o Community resources
		• Institutional self-reflection
		  o Critical reflection
		  o Humility
		  o Acknowledging past wrongs
		• Individual self-reflection
		  o Critical reflection
		  o Non-critical reflection

D1: Power-with *or solidarity in decision-making and action*

When the overt power of institutions is no longer driven by a unilateral service-provision dynamic of doing *to* or *for* communities, community engagement becomes *relationship-driven*. This category is broken out into two sub-categories to accommodate both substantive and democratic purposes. The substantive sub-category is *mutual benefit* which simply indicates that both communities and the university are benefiting somehow because of the partnership. Generally, the benefit to the community is "student and faculty expertise and resources" (UCONN). The benefits to the university include that students "gain valuable, practical experience in their academic disciplines" (UCONN) and both students and faculty gain "new research population[s]" (CSUFC). The democratic sub-category is *(re)building relationships* both within communities and between communities and institutional partners, and gets at some of the more relational

qualities of trust and respect. Many universities understand that "building relationships is key" (KSU) and recognize that "engagement with the community is something that has to be built and fostered and nurtured over time" (MSU). One faculty member offered peer advice to "just be present, doing what you do best—ask questions, be a listening ear. New partnerships can result. I like that old quote, 'The world is run by those who show up.' So be out there. Make that connection" (MSU). This indicates the major distinction between the two sub-categories, because this kind of relationship building is not predicated on substantive or instrumental exchange.

Even more important (and certainly easier to operationalize) is *co-production*, a direct measure of *power-with* as it includes the overt actions that universities and communities are able to do with one another. This category is broken out into four sub-categories. First is *co-learning*, which indicates a shared exploration of knowledge. UTK defines this as "students and faculty as equal partners with the community in the creation of new knowledge and solutions." UCONN gives an example of a professor who asked questions with an elementary school teacher which together they "attempted to answer over the course of the following few months." The second is *co-teaching* which includes community members in curricular activities. As VCU says, "to engage community partners as co-educators." This also includes "developing the training protocols … with our community partners" (MSU). The third is *co-articulation* which goes beyond learning and teaching to include community members in the analysis and dissemination of findings from the research or partnership. CSUFC points out a commitment to "working to write with rather than about [community partners] whenever possible." Last is

collaborative action, which is the ultimate expression of co-production, as it goes beyond efforts to "communicate and collaborate with [community members], mutually agree upon goals, design a plan" to actually "together, execute that plan" (UCONN). While many universities point to the "application of knowledge" (KSU) in their work, some are more explicit in the co-creative nature of this application: "the partners contribute their expertise and share responsibility and ownership to enhance understanding and to integrate knowledge gained into action for change" (UL).

D2:* Power-to *or community agency in the decision-making sphere

An important countervailing force against latent domination in the decision-making sphere is *community control over definition of problems and solutions*. This category is broken out into two sub-categories. First is *community-defined focus*, which is community control in terms of defining their own problems as well as desires. UCONN describes themselves as solving "real problems… defined by the people in the community." Similarly, UTK describes their programs which "meet real needs in the community as determined by the community." Not all universities limit this aspect to "community-identified needs" (VCU) but also include more positive language like "community priorities" (VCU). Second under this category is *community-led initiatives* which is much more about the community's agency to define what actions should be taken to achieve such priorities, needs, or desires. "The question is not how to engage the community in our research but how to get researchers engaged in the community's work to improve population health" (VCU). Similarly, MSU describes how they might think

"creatively about how the University can be connected with the work that is happening in the community."

There was also evidence of the opposite in university rhetoric. There is a long history of *university control over definition of problems and solutions*. This is the latent power which enables universities (and other community practitioners) to do *to* or *for* communities. This category is broken out into two sub-categories. First is *university-defined focus* which emphasizes the perceived capacity and right of universities to "determine what issues, concerns and needs are unique to each community, and offer sound and effective solutions" (CSUFC). Similarly, UTK describes a program in which "students are challenged to examine the surrounding community and anticipate the needs of community members." The step beyond this is *university-led initiatives* which often takes the form of interventions. As MSU describes it, "steering those citizens into interventions that will help address their needs." Not all of this work is deficit-based, but it still centers the university as having the right to determine what actions should be taken, developing entire programs based on "wouldn't it be great if…" questions that university members ask themselves outside of community (MSU).

This paradigm shift requires *relinquishing institutional control* on the part of the university. This category is broken out into three sub-categories. The first is *knowledge exchange* which is sometimes as vague as a reference to "community engagement and knowledge-sharing" (UTK) but sometimes is more specific, such as UCONN's Initiative on Campus Dialogues noted earlier in which community and university partners share best practices. The second is *community influence* which is community having the

freedom and authority to influence the partnership or the university itself. As one professor noted, "it's a scary process for a researcher to really let go control of the project" but overall it is "rewarding" (MSU). The third is *collaborative planning and evaluation* which indicates a depth to which the community may be involved in knowledge-building, planning, and evaluation of partnerships and projects. "Students meet (in teams or as individuals) with community stakeholders to define local concerns, articulate student involvement and anticipate project deliverables" (UCONN). Similarly, as UTK notes, "service must be developed with the community, rather than for or to the community."

There are additional *institutional shifts to increase or improve engagement* that do not necessarily relinquish institutional control but that are nonetheless important to shifting latent power dynamics. This category is broken out into two sub-categories, one which is internal and one which brings community voice into the institution. There were many references to *institutional support* in the data, which includes any effort aimed to "encourage, support and reward" university-community partnerships (CSUFC). This could take the form of "developed goals, strategies, and targets for the assessment of their community engagement mission," (UL) support with connection and placements of partnerships (UTK), help for faculty who "may need assistance in documenting this type of scholarship" (VCU), or even a "Graduate Certification in Community Engagement" (MSU). Lastly within institutional shifts is the sub-category of *community advisory role*, which is similar to *community influence* but does not provide evidence of actual influence. "The UCP [university-community partnership] Board is appointed by the

university president and is composed of members representing both community and the university" (UL). Similarly, UTK held "listen and learn sessions centered around how university and community partners can address complex issues, emerging concerns, and explore opportunities between UT and the surrounding community" but it is not clear if there were any implications (UTK).

D3: Cultural and symbolic* power-within *or self-efficacy

The category *asset-based view of people and place* is perhaps the most widely understood and accepted recommendation for community practice. An asset-based view recognizes the strengths and resources of the community and is an important factor in helping to build community self-efficacy. This category is broken out into three sub-categories. First is recognition of community members' a*bility to contribute thought*. "Engagement, at least as I understand it, is a two-way dynamic. It's having a partner that is providing not only questions, but insights—what will work, what tools are needed—as opposed to having outreach staff saying here are the tools we thought of, take them or leave them" (MSU). Similarly, this includes partnerships "based on the philosophy that everyone can learn and everyone can teach" (KSU). Next is recognition of community members' s*kills and expertise*. MSU describes work that is "focused on skills youth have already gained in their own lived experiences." VCU also notes "how much our programs and students benefit from the knowledge and expertise of our community partners." Lastly is a recognition of c*ommunity resources* more broadly. KSU describes partnerships as exposing "community resources to the campus and campus resources to the

community." This is an acknowledgement of "assets that are already here—assets that can be rejuvenated, lifted up, and celebrated" (MSU).

The opposite of an asset-based view of community is the view of *community as needing the university's service and care*, which is thought to erode a sense of self-efficacy. This category is broken out into two sub-categories. The first is *problems* as many universities often discussed addressing "communities' most pressing issues" (KSU) through programs which "targeted youth from the poorest areas of the city" (UL). Some of these characterizations of problems were somewhat hyperbolic: "the World has a health crisis. Smoking, binge drinking, and illegal drug use cause catastrophic effects to health. Tennessee has not escaped this crisis, and in many ways, the crisis is worse in Tennessee than elsewhere" (TKU). Similarly, universities often discuss the *neediness* of communities and their members. These universities claim their commitment to "initiatives that are both rooted in and responsive to the needs of specific communities, especially those underserved in terms of access to economic and cultural resources" (MSU) or just simply "helping those in need" (UL)—their commitment to providing "much needed assistance" (UTK) to "serve in our country's neediest communities" (VCU) and will even go so far as to characterize communities as "desperate" for help (VCU.)

Raising up the assets of a community is not enough, however, to counteract a long history of cultural dominance. Perhaps the most important category under this dimension of power is *institutional self-reflection*, which is reflection on the role of the institutional partner. This category is broken out into three sub-categories. For example, UCONN

aims to “help our students to be even more mindful of their impact, and help them to respectfully partner with these communities. Through UCC we hope to cultivate a culture of respect for the communities with which we enter into a partnership.” While this indicates individual self-reflection on the part of students, it is also connected to the way UCONN engages with community, making this *critical reflection* under this category. *Humility* as an institutional partner is also very important. This includes an acknowledgement that the university “would never be able to provide” what is accomplished through university-community partnerships (MSU), that communities and “the perspectives and insight they bring will surely challenge our assumptions and ultimately influence” the university (VCU), and that the university must “recognize ways to improve” (CSUFC). Lastly, and most important, is *acknowledging past wrongs*. UCONN identifies that “the past few decades have seen a shift from one directional ivory tower model of universities imparting knowledge to communities, to more collaborative, bidirectional partnerships,” acknowledging the need for change. Similarly, VCU recognizes their historical reputation in the community as a negative “force to be reckoned with.”

Self-reflection is always a good practice, but in the context of university-community partnerships it is important to note whether this reflection is tied into the role of the institutional partner in engagement. The category *individual self-reflection* was created to make this distinction. This category is broken out into two sub-categories. Some of this individual self-reflection is *critical reflection* on topics such as students’ understanding of “social justice, community building, personal values and other

leadership development topics as a way of reflecting on their service experiences" (UTK). Others indicate *non-critical reflection* that asks "students to actively reflect" but is limited to reflecting on comparisons of theory and practice: to "consider the experience in light of their course learning" (UTK).

Contribution of the Framework

The primary purpose of this study is to explore whether the community development literature and its treatment of power can inform a more robust assessment of university-community partnerships than the higher education literature can accomplish alone. If the analytical framework is to be useful to future research in higher education, it is important to ensure that it is reasonably aligned with the field's aspirations. As explained in chapters 1 and 2, there are two major initiatives that seek to advance university-community partnerships; the Carnegie elective Community Engagement classification and the Anchor Institutions movement. Both initiatives focus heavily on the notion of substantive "mutual benefit" within university-community partnerships, but also aim to empower communities. This section outlines the comparative analyses undertaken to assess the potential relevance and usefulness of the analytical framework to aspirations identified by these two groups.

Comparison to the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification

In January 2018, the administrators of the classification, the Swearer Center at Brown University, released the 2020 application (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2018b). In addition to the application content, this document provides narrative guidance on the quality of answers they are seeking, but does not

provide an assessment rubric. This guidance begins with CFAT's definition of community engagement (1). Table 8 compares how this statement aligns with the analytical framework.

Table 8. Comparative Analysis to CFAT's Definition of Community Engagement

CFAT Statement	Analytical Framework Elements

Community engagement describes the collaboration between institutions of higher education and their larger communities (local, regional/state, national, global) for the mutually beneficial creation and exchange of knowledge and resources in a context of partnership and reciprocity.	• Relationship-driven
	  o Mutual benefit
	• Co-production
	  o Co-learning
	  o Collaborative action
	• Relinquishing institutional control
	  o Knowledge exchange
	• Asset-based view of people and place
	  o Ability to contribute thought
	  o Skills and expertise
	  o Community resources

In reciprocal partnerships, there are collaborative community-campus definitions of problems, solutions, and measures of success.	• Asset-based view of people and place
	  o Ability to contribute thought
	• Community-focused
	  o Community-defined focus
	• Relinquishing of institutional control
	  o Collaborative planning and evaluation

Community engagement requires processes in which academics recognize, respect, and value the knowledge, perspectives, and resources of community partners.	• Asset-based view of people and place
	  o Ability to contribute thought
	  o Skills and expertise
	  o Community resources

CFAT Statement	Analytical Framework Elements
Such relationships are by their very nature trans-disciplinary (knowledge transcending the disciplines and the college or university) and asset-based (where the strengths, skills, and knowledges of those in the community are validated and legitimized).	• Asset-based view of people and place o Ability to contribute thought o Skills and expertise

The first section of the application seeks to determine whether community engagement is incorporated into the university's mission and identity, promoted and supported by coordinating infrastructure and various funding mechanisms, and evaluated in a systematic and ongoing manner (2-4). Together, these characteristics reflect the "potential for effectiveness and sustainability" (4). Those statements pertaining to community empowerment are considered in table 9.

Table 9. Comparative Analysis to CFAT's Institutional Commitment

CFAT Statement	Analytical Framework Elements
Evidence of "mechanisms for systematic assessment of community perceptions of … the institution's activities, partnerships, and interactions with the community."	• Institutional shifts to increase or improve engagement o Community advisory role • Institutional self-reflection o Humility
Evidence that community feedback guides institutional practice "and, where applicable, leads to problem solving or resolution of areas of conflict with community."	• Institutional shifts to increase or improve engagement o Community advisory role • Relinquishing institutional control o Community influence • Institutional self-reflection o Humility

CFAT Statement	Analytical Framework Elements

Evidence of the community's level of authority "in institutional planning or similar institutional processes that shape the community engagement agenda."	• Institutional shifts to increase or improve engagement
	  o Community advisory role
	• Community-focused
	  o Community-led initiatives
	• Relinquishing institutional control
	  o Community influence

The application goes on to ask a series of questions regarding: (a) Curricular Engagement, (b) Co-curricular Engagement, (c) Professional Activity and Scholarship, (d) Community Engagement and Other Institutional Initiatives, and (e) Outreach and Partnerships. While all are related to community engagement, the most relevant to this study is the last category. Acknowledging that "outreach has traditionally focused on the application and provision of institutional resources for community use," applicants are asked to indicate which and how outreach programs "reflect a community engagement partnership approach" (19). Applicants are asked to "describe [up to 15] representative examples of partnerships … that were in place during the most recent academic year" (20), including "impact on the community."

To verify university claims, application reviewers will contact community partners directly for their perspective on whether or not the partnership meets "the standards of community engagement … grounded in the qualities of reciprocity, mutual respect, shared authority, and co-creation of goals and outcomes" (20). The confidential survey provides community partners the extensive Carnegie definition of Community Engagement and asks community partners whether or not they agree with a series of

statements, using a five-point Likert scale. Table 10 considers these statements in light of the analytical framework.

Table 10. Comparative Analysis to CFAT's Community Partners Survey

CFAT Statement	Analytical Framework Elements
Community partners are recognized by the campus.	• Asset-based view of people and place
Community partners are asked about their perceptions of the institution's engagement with and impact on community.	• Asset-based view of people and place o Ability to contribute thought
My community voice is heard and I have a seat at the table in important conversations that impact my community.	• Asset-based view of people and place o Ability to contribute thought • Relinquishing institutional control o Community influence o Collaborative planning and evaluation
The faculty and/or staff that our community partnership works with take specific actions to ensure mutuality and reciprocity in partnerships.	• Relationship-driven o Mutual benefit
The campus collects and shares feedback and assessment findings regarding partnerships, reciprocity, and mutual benefit, both from community partners to the institution and from the institution to the community.	• Institutional shifts to increase or improve engagement o Institutional support o Community advisory role • Relationship-driven o Mutual benefit • Relinquishing institutional control o Community influence o Collaborative planning and evaluation
The partnership with this institution had a positive impact on my community.	• Relationship-driven o Mutual benefit

Judging by this comparative analysis, the analytical framework is reasonably aligned with what CFAT expects from university-community engagement, particularly in regard to university-community partnerships. Furthermore, this comparison shows evidence of the contribution of this analytical framework. First, rather than relying on narrative guidance, this framework offers a more systematic rubric for assessing university-community partnerships. Secondly, there are specific elements which are included in the analytical framework developed herein that are not reflected in the CFAT 2020 application framework.

More specifically, under *power-with* or solidarity, CFAT calls for co-learning and collaborative action but not co-teaching or co-articulation. Similarly, relationship building beyond "mutual benefit" is missing, giving no attention to the importance of building trusting, respectful relationships between universities and communities. Under *power-within* or community self-efficacy, CFAT calls for asset-based discussion of communities and institutional humility, but does not go so far as to demand critical reflection and acknowledgement of past wrongs that may have harmed university-community relationships. Finally, it does not differentiate among types of self-reflection on the part of individuals as people versus their institutional role. Thus, the analytical framework more directly calls out power dynamics in its evaluative concepts, and links them to a more robust rationale for changes in practice.

Comparison to the Anchor Institutions Initiative

As noted in chapters 1 and 2, there are two groups engaged in exploring and advocating for the role of colleges and universities as anchor institutions within their

communities: The Anchor Institutions Task Force and the Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort (Dubb, McKinley, and Howard 2013a, b, Sladek 2017).

The core values of the Anchor Institutions Task Force are: (1) commitment to place and community, (2) collaboration and partnership, (3) equity and social justice, and (4) democracy and democratic practice (Marga n.d.). While the first two can be interpreted as substantive purposes, the latter two clearly indicate a focus on power dynamics within place-based partnerships between anchor institutions and their communities. The stated values of equity, social justice, and democratic practice are very well aligned with the analytical framework's emphasis of *power-within*, *power-to*, and *power-with*, actually stating these aspirations more directly than the CFAT guidelines. Unfortunately, efforts to operationalize the aspirations are not clearly tied to these transformations of power dynamics.

Similarly, the Democracy Collaborative's Anchor Dashboard project developed a set of 12 objectives for the anchor mission through in-depth interviews conducted in 2012 with leaders of anchor institutions, national nonprofit organizations, federal agencies, and community organizations (Dubb, McKinley, and Howard 2013b). Thereafter, a Learning Cohort was established to begin the process of implementing these metrics and sharing results for continuous improvement in practice and knowledge building (Sladek 2017). In this initiative, most objectives and indicators are of a substantive nature, seeking common benchmarks of social, economic, and environmental quality of life: 1) local and minority hiring; 2) local and minority business procurement; 3) housing affordability; 4) business incubation; 5) arts and cultural development; 6) community investment; 7) public health;

8) public safety; 9) environmental health; 10) pre-K-12 education improvement; 11) community capacity building and democratic leadership development; and 12) asset building and ownership. Thus, "measurement often tilts toward the quantifiable, even though qualitative factors can be equally or more important" (Dubb, McKinley, and Howard 2013a, viii).

However, within the "community capacity building and democratic leadership development" metric, the initiative also considers metrics related to "relationship building with external partners" (Sladek 2017, 19). The motivation for these concerns appears to be grounded in distrust resulting from historical power dynamics: "Equitable partnerships can help build trust, and these can be facilitated through investments that build the capacity of local partners to be stable, effective, and strong" (Dubb, McKinley, and Howard 2013b, 23).

Drawing from various sources, the associated practices being used to overcome distrust and assess empowerment include a number of indicators, noting that only the last three make it into the actual metric framework (Dubb, McKinley, and Howard 2013a, b, Sladek 2017). These aspirations are compared to the analytical framework in table 11.

Table 11. Comparative Analysis to Overcoming Distrust of Anchor Institutions

Aspirations of Anchor Institutions	**Analytical Framework Elements**
An identifiable budget for "community building" efforts	• Institutional shifts o Institutional support
Consistent, integrated engagement efforts	• Relationship-driven o (Re)building relationships
Adequate communications and transparency	• Relationship-driven o (Re)building relationships

Aspirations of Anchor Institutions	Analytical Framework Elements
Engaging community residents in participatory goal setting	• Relinquishing institutional control o Collaborative planning and evaluation
Increased community presence in decision-making	• Relinquishing institutional control o Collaborative planning and evaluation o Community influence
Community ownership of data and projects	• Community-focused o Community-led initiatives
Creation of a partnership center that acts as the institution's "front door"	• Institutional shifts to increase or improve engagement o Institutional support
Community advisory boards that have democratic decision-making authority	• Institutional shifts to increase or improve engagement o Community advisory role • Relinquishing institutional control o Community influence
Positive feedback from survey of service-learning/capstone partners	• Co-production o Co-articulation
High civic health index ratings (The American Democracy Project), which assesses democratic leadership	• Asset-based view of people and place o Ability to contribute thought o Skills and expertise

Unfortunately, the Anchor Dashboard Learning Cohort reports that it "hasn't had a lot of time or resources to better center community participation in the design, strategy, and implementation of the anchor mission" (Sladek 2017, 21). Toward that end and similar to CFAT, the project leaders recommend surveying community partners, suggesting evaluative statements with five-point Likert scale answers, along with open-ended questions. These items are compared to the analytical framework in table 12.

Table 12. Comparative Analysis to AIDLC's Community Survey Evaluative Statements

AIDLC Statements	Analytical Framework Elements
[Institution] is committed to helping my neighborhood.	• Relationship-driven o Mutual benefit
[Institution] is a partner in improving my neighborhood.	• Relationship-driven o Mutual benefit
People in this neighborhood trust [Institution].	• Relationship-driven o (Re)building relationships
[Institution] intrudes on my neighborhood's boundaries.	• University control over definition of problems and solutions o University-led initiatives
[Institution] does not recognize the positive things about my neighborhood.	• Community as needing the university's service and care o Problems o Neediness
[Institution] has faculty and staff who use their expertise to support my community.	• Relationship-driven o Mutual benefit
[Institution] is known as an institution that cares about my community.	• Relationship-driven o (Re)building relationships
[Institution] is seen as a trusted partner in my community.	• Relationship-driven o (Re)building relationships
Open-ended question: What are challenges of working with [Institution]?	• Institutional self-reflection o Critical reflection o Acknowledging past wrongs
Open-ended question: How could [Institution] improve its relationship with community members?	• Institutional shifts o Community advisory role

Judging by this comparative analysis, the analytical framework is also reasonably aligned with Anchor Institution aspirations for university-community engagement. Furthermore, this comparison has again shown evidence of the contribution of this

analytical framework. The greatest limitation of the Anchor Institution aspirations is in the actual assessment metrics themselves, as they only look for community advisory role, positive feedback from partners, and certain aspects of community capacity. Furthermore, while the remaining Anchor Institution aspirations are more thorough in establishing the need for institutional shifts as well as the broader aspects of relationship building, they are not strong. The Anchor Institution lens is severely lacking in terms of describing co-productive activities, a depth of community control over the definition of problems and solutions, and establishing an asset-based view of people and place.

Strengths of the Proposed Analytical Framework

The framework was used to interpret the manner in which community engagements are described as manifesting the desired empowerment of community partners through the building of:

(1) power-*within* (self-efficacy) among community partners;

(2) *power-to* (agency) among community partners; and

(3) *power-with* (solidarity) between the university and community partners.

It was found useful in identifying and clarifying indicators of these manifestations, and it has demonstrated greater capacity for doing so than both the Carnegie classification for Community Engagement and Anchor Institutions initiatives. Therefore, it appears to make a viable contribution for future assessments of university-community partnerships. Most fundamentally, the ideal-typical framing of power in community engagement provides a more robust lens for assessing the transformational aspirations of university-community partnerships. The discussion of this contribution will be continued in chapter

5 as a conclusion to this study, with recommendations for the analytical framework's use in further research and assessment.

5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The primary purpose of this study is to explore whether the community development literature and its treatment of power can inform a more robust analytical framework to assess university-community partnerships than what the higher education literature offers. The study has three major phases: (1) development of a theoretical framework using community development literature on power dynamics, integrated with higher education literature to construct two ideal-type approaches to community partnerships; (2) completion of an interpretive, qualitative content analysis of university rhetoric about community engagements to further operationalize the framework, and (3) assessment of the potential relevance and usefulness of the analytical framework in assessing common aspirational goals of university-community engagement through comparative analyses between the analytical framework and (a) the Carnegie Community Engagement Classification 2020 application framework and (b) the Anchor Institutions Task Force and Dashboard Learning Cohort metrics.

The explication of the two ideal-types in chapter 2 begs the question of why, after at least a century of consistent critique, community practice is still approached in the *power-over* paradigm. Ledwith (2011) offers an answer: community practitioners have been charged "to change things for the better but not to rock the boat" (11). The top-down culture of bureaucracy in funding and severely limited process evaluation has led practitioners into uncritical practice. "The danger, of course, is that we are complicit, that our practice is reinforcing the very structures of injustice that we claim to transform" (36).

While a central tenet of this work is self-assessment, it is still insufficient for the type of critical reflection that brings the professional, the program, the organization, the funder, and the system of community development as a whole into focus. Such critical reflection "is often an uncomfortable and challenging process" (Ledwith and Springett 2010, 155). Indeed, it can be particularly threatening when resources, programs, and livelihoods are on the line because it unsettles things taken for granted and may even challenge the role of the professional. This is, however, what is necessary for community practice to actually contribute to equitable, sustainable, systemic social and economic progress. Evaluation that turns its gaze from being exclusively on target communities is precisely what the potential community partner to ASU was calling for, the very driver for this study. This is why Ledwith and Springett (2010) assert that practitioners cannot make positive change for others "if we are not open to challenge and to change ourselves" (201).

Answering this call, community-engaged scholars and institutions are increasingly engaging in the Community Engagement elective classification's "process of self-assessment and quality improvement" (Swearer Center for Public Service n.d.). Organizations such as CFAT and the two Anchor Institutions initiatives have dedicated themselves to knowledge building and evaluation of place-based community engagement toward aspirations of social justice, equity, agency, and reciprocity. However, acknowledging one of the "gaps in the framework," CFAT (now housed in the Swearer Center for Public Service at Brown University) is now working to increase their capacity to assess "partnership quality" in the 2020 Community Engagement Classification self-

study and application framework (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2018a, 3). Similarly, the anchor institutions mission was noted as a gap in the previous self-study application, but this topic has yet to be addressed in the self-study application itself (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2018b).

It would appear that the administrators of the Carnegie Community Engagement classification system aspire to transform power dynamics between universities and communities, but are vague in this aspect and fail to fully integrate this goal into their operationalized framework. In guidance materials given to 2020 applicants, they are clear in their call for "transformational change" which "alters the culture of the institution by changing select underlying assumptions and institutional behaviors, processes, and products" (Swearer Center for Public Service 2018, 23) "so that they are congruent with the desired changes" (26). Yet, they are unclear as to what these "select" characteristics are. Similarly, while guidance materials (see Swearer Center for Public Service 2018, 9) do quote O'Meara and Rice (2005) in calling for "faculty to move beyond 'outreach,'" and "scholars to go beyond 'service,' with its overtones of noblesse oblige" (28) details are lacking. They seem to be clear about a shift toward *reciprocity* as a core principle in terms of mutual benefit: "a flow of knowledge, information and benefits in both directions between University and community partners" (10). However, while they expand the typical definition of reciprocity to include the added characteristics of "mutual respect, shared authority, and co-creation of goals and outcomes" (10), they fall short in operationalizing these concepts in the application itself.

However, CFAT (2018b) is now engaging community partners directly in evaluation and assessment of their experience of the partnership (20-22). As noted in the application materials, a letter will be sent to each community partner. Partners will be reminded that "partnerships that meet the standards of community engagement are grounded in the qualities of reciprocity, mutual respect, shared authority, and co-creation of goals and outcomes" (20). In addition to the level of impact the partnership had on their community, the associated confidential survey asks community partners to assess how recognized, valued, and listened to they feel; how much agency they have in decision-making as well as in evaluation; and the university partner's level of transparency and reflection (21). Furthermore, the application will now require universities to report on the decision-making power of community partners. "Community voice is illustrated by examples of actual community influence on actions and decisions, not mere advice or attendance at events or meetings" (4). By allowing community partners to evaluate their institutional partners, CFAT is not only expanding the evaluation measures, but also dramatically enhancing community self-efficacy and agency.

The Anchor Institutions Task Force and Anchor Institutions Dashboard Learning Cohort initiatives have very similar aspirations and limitations. The Task Force states values of equity, social justice, and democratic practice (Marga n.d.) more directly than the CFAT guidelines, yet efforts to operationalize these transformations of power dynamics are no more clearly defined in research projects. As Alan Delmerico of SUNY Buffalo State, a behavioral research scientist and member of the Anchor Institution

Learning Cohort explains, “Our committee does not have a standard definition for what a partnership is but rather labels an organization as a partner if we do any service work with them. The quality to which we define a partnership is the bigger issue” (as quoted in Sladek 2017, 20). Unfortunately, assessments determining the quality of university-community partnerships to date have been found insufficient (Beere 2009, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2018a, Sladek 2017). As with any evaluation initiative, the “devil is in the details”—the qualitative characteristics of equitable, just, and democratic partnerships need to be clearly defined and operationalized. Such indicators provide a mechanism for *accountability* to both internal and external sources, provide an important mechanism for *transparency* with community partners, and allow greater *organizational learning* (Dubb, McKinley, and Howard 2013a, 2). It is the organizational learning purpose that drives a strong rationale for cultural change concerning power dynamics.

Ultimately, the biggest gap in all of these frameworks is clarity around the antithesis of their aspirations; a clear understanding of the cultural paradigm they wish to transform. The danger in this limitation is that without a clear understanding, articulation, and operationalization of power dynamics in institutional-community engagement, the field cannot distinguish transformative work from lip service, allowing universities to potentially perpetuate *power-over* dynamics in their community partnerships. Many scholars point to this pitfall—that “the use of terms such as ‘partnership’ and ‘shared ownership’ by large, powerful actors… obscures inequalities of resources and power ” (Gaventa 2006, 23). Ledwith similarly argues that the field of community practice has

"been through a long politics of partnership that has located everyone on the same side, a delusional tactic that has resulted in negating dialectical thought, colonising critical spaces and temporarily halting radical practice in a haze of managerialism" (Ledwith 2011, 13).

This is the primary contribution of the analytical framework developed herein. This study found that a thorough exploration and reflective critique of institutional *power-over* dynamics enables a more detailed theoretical rationale for and affirmation of the new paradigm of engagement. The *power-with* paradigm, in turn, provides a more robust analytical framework for assessing the quality of partnerships against the aspirations of equity, social justice, democratic practice (Marga n.d.), mutual respect, shared authority, and co-creation (Swearer Center for Public Service 2018, 10).

Using this analytical framework to conduct a content analysis of actual university rhetoric revealed its capacity to identify relationships among the aspirational practices of university-community engagement. Based on the meanings communicated in university rhetoric, some of the categories and sub-categories were found to be somewhat independent, while others were more inherently interrelated with other categories and sub-categories. For example, data coded under the D1 sub-category *mutual benefit* often was not coded under any other categories. Sometimes descriptions of *mutual benefit* even appeared to support the characterization of *communities as needing university services and care*. The benefit to the university of having a new population to research, or hands-on learning experience for the more practical fields does not necessitate any kind of substantive contribution of communities, nor does it necessarily foster community

agency. On the other hand, data coded under the D1 sub-category *collaborative action* tended to connect with other categories such as *asset-based view of people and place*, *community control over definition of problems and solutions* and *relinquishing institutional control*, as evidenced by the following quote: "the partners *contribute their expertise* and *share responsibility and ownership* to enhance understanding and to integrate knowledge gained into action for change" (emphasis added, UL).

There is nothing inherently wrong with aspiring to mutual benefit—this is an important and valuable aspect of university-community partnerships. However, in conjunction with a needy view of communities without critical reflection on the institutional role, or in the context of university-led initiatives without relinquishing institutional control, this perspective perpetuates the *power-over* D3 assumption that the community needs the university's service and care and the D2 assumption that the university has the right to intervene in communities. While Gaventa's (2006) commentary on the term partnership obscuring power dynamics may be rather severe, considering mutual benefit as an isolated aspiration certainly has the potential to obscure *power-over* in D2 and D3. Put differently, this interrelationship of characteristics demonstrates that while some activities are beneficial, they may not foster development of *power-with* or *power-to* and *power-within* among community partners.

Like the dimensions of power and the framework itself, this dynamic is recursive. Not only can the depth of transformation in D1 be assessed by whether it is connected to transformation in D2 and D3, but also the same can be said for each to the others. For example, taking an *asset-based view of people and place* can represent a positive

transformation in the cultural dimension of power, but taken in isolation it does not necessarily transform power in D2 to build a community's agency to define issues and opportunities for themselves, nor does it transform power in D1 to build solidarity and *power-with* in collaborative action.

In sum, the addition of the three dimensions of power and attention to the interrelationships among them reveal variation in the potential *depth* of transformation that partnership activities are able to achieve. Rather than a simple list of independent characteristics to achieve, as indicated by the format of both the CFAT and Anchor Institutions aspirations, by considering the interrelationships of power dynamics across community engagement activities, this analytical framework enables a much more robust analysis of the quality of university-community partnerships in terms of achieving equitable, just, and democratic practice. The use of this improved analytical tool in both self-assessment and external research may prove more effective in knowledge building for transformational practice.

Recommendations for Future Research

Further operationalization and development of the analytical framework for use in more rigorous and quantifiable assessment of university-community partnerships is recommended. While the theoretical framework was developed to hold two ideal-types, the empirical portion of this study was meant only to interpret the manner in which community engagements are described as manifesting *power-with* community partners. However, the iterative category construction demonstrated that university rhetoric continues to describe community engagement in ways that indicate *power-over*

communities. Thus, further development of the framework should expand the inductive category construction to the *power-over* theoretical ideal-type. This task, accompanied by further exploration of the varying depth discussed in the previous section, has the potential to generate a framework with even more applicability. Moving beyond ideal-types with associated characteristics, this could generate grounded typologies with a classification scheme similar to that of CFAT's research activity classification for Doctoral Universities. This could make a significant contribution to the Carnegie Community Engagement classification, which at this point still operates in a pass/fail fashion. A further developed framework would also enable a host of other analyses to better understand the field of community engagement in higher education. Comparative analysis could be undertaken, such as between universities, between mission statements and reporting on actual projects, between university reporting and the stories of actual partners, between partnerships with more formal community agencies and more grassroots organizations, and the like.

An additional recommendation for future research is deeper qualitative interrogation into the intricacies of lived experience. This research project was inspired by a desire to analyze the quality of university-community partnership from the perspective of community partners, faculty, students, and staff to more deeply understand their experiences in university-community partnerships. The theoretically and empirically informed framework developed herein can provide a basis for further exploration in this realm. Specifically, it can be used in future assessments of university messaging, accounts of lived experience, and consistencies/inconsistencies between the two in

university-community partnerships. Guided in part by the analytical framework, case studies and comparative case studies could be used to analyze specific partnerships or the university's approach to community engagement as a whole (Yin 2003). Similarly, institutional ethnography (Smith 2005) could be used to better understand the culture of power dynamics in university-community partnerships.

Particularly relevant in the context of university-community partnerships is participatory action research. The approach stems from a recognition of the extractive, traumatic history of research in marginalized communities as well as the historical undermining and devaluing of wisdom and capacity for knowledge production in marginalized communities (Brydon-Miller et al. 2013). To redress these imbalances, the researchers working with the Anchor Institutions Dashboard Learning Cohort note, "The democratic processes that are inherent to higher education and the anchor mission will be better realized as more community stakeholders are consistently involved in design and implementation of the Anchor Dashboard" (Sladek 2017, 23). Ultimately, the community partners must become integral members of the learning cohort in order to design, conduct, and interpret partnership evaluations.

Bringing community members into process of developing practice theories is a participatory co-learning activity. Kemmis (2009) argues that action research aims to change three things: "practitioners' *practices*, their *understandings* of their practices, and the *conditions* in which they practise. These three things . . . are inevitably and incessantly bound together with each other" (463). While action research might be technical or practical in nature, it can also be critical in nature. This is what Freire (2011)

meant by liberatory praxis—we act, we reflect, we frame theories that change action, reflect, adjust theory, and so forth. The primary difference between action research and standard research is that the scientific and theoretical lens of scholars is integrated with the lived experience lens community members. When this combined knowledge is bent toward practice itself, it enables community members to have an impact on how practitioners act in the future. When it is also critical, as it would be if guided by the analytical framework developed herein, participatory action research turns the evaluative gaze on academics and institutions and shares power and control with community researchers. These, of course, are some of the aspirations of university-community partnership, so it is only natural that research on this topic hold similar values and approaches.

In sum, whether the analytical framework developed herein is used by the administrators of the Carnegie Community Engagement classification, related researchers, or universities themselves, the insights gained could ultimately inform changes to practice and ways of understanding that practice that will lead to more equitable, just, and democratic university-community partnerships.

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APPENDIX A

EXACT WEBSITE LOCATIONS

Colorado State University-Fort Collins (CSUFC)

Office of Engagement

http://engagement.colostate.edu/

Kansas State University (KSU)

Center for Engagement and Community Development

https://www.k-state.edu/cecd/

Michigan State University (MSU)

University Outreach and Engagement

https://engage.msu.edu/

University of Connecticut (UCONN)

Office of Public Engagement

https://www.engagement.uconn.edu/

University of Louisville (UL)

Vice President for Community Engagement

http://louisville.edu/communityengagementt

University of Tennessee-Knoxville (UTK)

Office of Community Engagement & Outreach

https://engagement.utk.edu/

Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU)

Division of Community Engagement

https://community.vcu.edu/